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VOYAGE
ROUND THE WORLD,

PERFORMED

DURING THE YEARS 1790, 1791, AND 1792,

BY

ÉTIENNE MARCHAND,

PRECEDED

BY A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

AND

Illustrated by Charts, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

C. P. CLARET FLEURIEU,

OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
AND OF THE BOARD OF LONGITUDE OF FRANCE.

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HAVING been favoured with the fair sheets of the original of the following voyage by the Author, M. FLEURIEU, we have judged that an English edition of it might not, perhaps, be altogether unacceptable to the public. The plan of the work is so fully explained in the following *INTRODUCTION* as to render it unnecessary for us to say a word on that subject. On comparing our translation with the original, it will be found that we have most scrupulously followed our Author from the beginning of his *INTRODUCTION* to the end of the *JOURNAL OF THE ROUTE*. This comprises the whole of the *NARRATIVE* of MARCHAND's voyage, and the *NOTES* relating to it. The two volumes of natural history, descriptive of the birds, fishes, &c. &c. seen in the course of the voyage, being intended more as a vehicle of instruction to navigators in general, than a fresh source of information to persons already versed in that interesting science, we have thought that those who might be desirous of reaping in so extensive a field would prefer consulting the original to having recourse to a translation; and, for that reason, we have declined rendering them into English. Impressed with the same idea,
we

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we have omitted the "*Recherches sur les Terres Australes de DRAKE, et un examen critique du Voyage de ROGGEVEEN*", which, together with the "*Système métrique décimal appliqué à l'Hydrographie et aux calculs de la Navigation,*" may be considered rather in the light of an Appendix than as forming an integral part of the original work.

In the general chart exhibiting the SOLIDE's track, as well as in the text, we have adhered to the *new hydrographical division and nomenclature* proposed by M. FLEURIEU. This part of our Author's labour, which he now offers to the world at large, was first submitted to the National Institute of Arts and Sciences and to the Board of Longitude of FRANCE, and the *judgment of his peers* has proclaimed the correctness of his views and the clearness of his conceptions. Those who may wish for further information on this head, or may be desirous of analyzing the Author's motives for this innovation, will find them detailed in the "*Observations sur la division hydrographique du Globe, et changemens proposés dans la nomenclature générale et particulière de l'Hydrographie,*" given in the fourth volume of the 4th edition of the original. Whatever may be their opinion as to the changes proposed, we will venture to predict that they cannot but commend the Author for his efforts towards the improvement of hydrography. Of the other charts, &c. we have suppressed such as were either copies, the originals of which are to be found in

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in the narratives of our English voyages, or as, from subsequent information, have, in some measure, become superfluous. These different suppressions have enabled us to make a proportionate reduction in the price of the English work, without having in the smallest degree lessened its value to the general reader.

Some persons may, perhaps, be also of opinion that we might, without impropriety, have omitted the *NOTES*; but when it is considered how much the safety of navigation depends on a knowledge of the action of the currents, and that this attempt of M. FLEURIEU to ascertain their direction and velocity in the course of a circumnavigation of the globe is the first of the kind which has met the public eye, we flatter ourselves that we shall be justified for their insertion by the approbation of every friend to science, every thinking man; and we are the more confirmed in this opinion from the same idea having been recently suggested by an able navigator of our own nation*. What indeed, can

* Captain WILLIAM BLIGH has published a chart exhibiting the track of the *Director* under his command, in a voyage to *St. Helena* and back to *England*, with the direction of the currents and their effect.

In the Remarks annexed to his chart, Captain BLIGH observes that, "If a series of ship's tracks, in different parts of the ocean, were, in such a manner, correctly laid down, it is evident that the velocity and direction of the currents would be ascertained without any material error, and a distinct account be given of them."

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can be more interesting to a maritime people; whose very existence depends on their commerce, than the advancement of an art which, while it is one of the most solid foundations of their prosperity, at the same time cements the ties of social intercourse between nations? What friend to humanity can withhold his tribute of applause from the hydrographer, who, from the recess of his closet, describes those passages from which he is separated by thousands of leagues; announces the nature of the bottom of the sea and the variations of its depth; delineates the windings formed by the reefs and shores; calculates the power, and traces the direction of the currents, whether general or accidental; points out with precision the treacherous shoal incessantly covered by the waves, and thus concealed from the eye of the cautious mariner? Will it not instantly occur to the contemplative mind, that the day may come, perhaps, when a parent, a son, a husband, a brother, a friend, may be called by fate into such dangerous seas; and that unfaithful narratives or

“The foundation of this Map,” continues he, “is the true plan of the ship every day at noon, or as often as it can be ascertained, and the place faithfully and impartially found by the log; that is, the true difference of latitude and longitude made every day, and the difference of latitude and longitude found by account, without any correction but for leeway and variation of the compass. The difference between them should be the effect of the current.”

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incorrect charts may lead him to shipwreck, to certain destruction? Can we then refuse our admiration and gratitude to the sage who stops him on the brink of the precipice: the man who never beheld those seas, those straits, those islands, those sand-banks, or those rocks, traces, in the midst of such accumulated danger, a safe route; and reasoning, which combines and rectifies observations, becomes a surer guide than observation itself.

Such are the reflections which present themselves to us in answer to the objections that may be started by those superficial observers who are ever eager to blame what they do not give themselves the trouble to examine, as if the determination of the latitude and longitude of a point of the globe whither trade calls our shipping, or the position of a strait through which our navigators must necessarily pass, could be determined with too great a degree of precision. In this point of view, the "Analysis of the general chart of the two Straits situated between BANCA and BILLITON, known by the name of GASPAR's Strait and CLEMENT's Strait", as well as the rectification of several points of geography, must be considered as a valuable acquisition.

The general merits of the original work, it is not our province to determine; but it appears to us, that, however great an enthusiast M. FLEURIEU may be for the honour and prosperity of FRANCE,

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FRANCE, he, nevertheless, gives to every nation what belongs to it, and, like a true philanthropist, never loses sight of the general interest of mankind. Crimes he condemns without reserve, faults he blames without bitterness, facts he re-establishes without passion, and errors he detects without ill-humour. We shall only add that it has been our endeavour to transfuse into our language the sense of the Author, whose reputation, however, stands too high in the opinion of his countrymen to be affected by the inferiority that may, perhaps, be found in this undertaking *.

* The first consul of *France*, as President of the National Institute of Arts and Sciences, has sent a superb copy of the original to the Royal Society of *London*.

LONDON, July the 10th, 1801.

INTRODUCTION.

(READ IN THE VITTINGS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, IN THE CLASS OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES, ON THE 17th AND 22d MESSIDOR, YEAR V OF THE FRENCH ERA (5th AND 10th JULY 1797).)

THE NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, separated from EUROPE by a vast sea, and by a great continent along the east side of which the navigator must range as far as the fifty-seventh or fifty-eighth degree of south latitude, was not known till a long time after its NORTH-EAST coast, situated on the same parallels as the NORTH-WEST coast, had been subjected to the European yoke, and even undergone several revolutions which have only occasioned it to change its masters, without ever re-establishing Nature in the enjoyment of her rights. The lapse of three centuries has not yet been sufficient to bring us acquainted with all the west coast of NORTH AMERICA; the discovery of it has been made by parts, and at periods remote from each other. An interruption of a hundred years had caused the success of the first attempts to be forgotten; and there was a necessity for discovering anew what had already

been discovered. It was not till about the middle of the present century that the trace of former expeditions was resumed; and it may be said that, prior to this period, we merely knew that the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA must terminate on the GREAT OCEAN; but we were not even certain that the Old and the New World did not form to the northward a continued land, nor were we assured that each continent was a large island.

Before I give an account of the VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, performed in 1790, 91, and 92, by Captain ETIENNE MARCHAND, commander of the ship SOLIDE, the first which the merchants of FRANCE have ventured to send towards that distant coast, I shall briefly recall to mind the ancient discoveries which obtained us the first notions of that part of the New Continent. I shall, in going back to the time of each discovery, endeavour to distinguish what motive determined each expedition; and I shall gradually come to the voyages of our time, the success of which has given rise to new speculations in commerce. The greatness and the difficulties of the undertaking must have attached to it a sort of attraction; but these operations, advantageous in the outset, and as long as they were not counteracted by immoderate competition, would not promise for the future a profit capable of balancing the risks and compensating the expense, if they were not combined

bined with prudence, and restricted to limits which cannot be exceeded, without the adventurers exposing themselves voluntarily to unavoidable losses.

CORTES had conquered and subdued MEXICO by the strength of his genius, perhaps still more than by the superiority of European arms; but CHARLES V, satisfied, for the moment, with the treasures which this first conquest insured him, or too prudent to intrust to CORTES a great power in the new empire which he had just given to SPAIN, wished to render him useless in order that he might not be dangerous. In granting him great titles of honour, he limited his authority to the idle command of troops reduced to inaction, forbade him to engage in any military expedition on the continent, and authorized him only to aim, out of the country, at a new kind of glory in maritime expeditions. This ardent spirit, which had hitherto been occupied by great conceptions, accustomed to those brilliant and unhopd-for successes which Fortune always keeps out of the reach of common men, became restless in the fetters which a suspicious monarch wished to put to his ambition: new projects were no sooner conceived than executed; and he threw himself with ardour into the sole career that jealous authority left open to his active disposition. Already had he caused the Isthmus of DARIEN to be visited by his lieutenants, in order to ascertain whether it would not be possible to triumph over the ob-

stacles which Nature might oppose to the junction of the two OCEANS; already had he caused the east coast of NORTH AMERICA to be examined in order to discover whether some Strait might not afford a free passage to navigation; but, his hopes having been disappointed in both attempts, he confined himself to such expeditions as might be made from the ports of MEXICO situated on the GREAT OCEAN. Small squadrons were successively equipped; but the inexperience of the commanders lost some, and the others returned without any important discovery having gratified his ambition. Humiliated, in some measure, by this series of ill success to which he was not accustomed, and which he imputed to unskilfulness and want of perseverance in the conduct of the operations, in 1537, he ordered a fresh armament which he put under the command of the Chevalier FRANCISCO DE ULLOA, whose reputation had been acquired by long services. But when the ships were equipped and ready to sail, tired, in short, of intrusting to others the execution of his projects and the interests of his glory, he took the command in person, went on board the *Capitana*; and, confiding to the sea CORTES and his fortune, he directed his course towards the north. A long series of fatigues and dangers worthy of him occurred in the early part of his voyage: his fiery courage at length found obstacles which he could not surmount; he opposed to them

them the cool bravery of perseverance : and, after having long struggled against a raging sea that had never been navigated by ships, he finally discovered the great Peninsula of CALIFORNIA which would have been honoured by bearing his name, and he explored the greater part of that long and narrow gulf which is at this day known by the name of the VERMILION SEA. The discovery of so extensive a country might have been sufficient for the glory of any other man ; but it added nothing to that of CORTES, and did not gratify the great hopes which he had conceived *.

ANTONIO DE MENDOÇA, who, a short time after, united, with the title of viceroy, the plenitude of power, which in his hands appeared not dangerous, employed himself in pursuing the discoveries to the north. The object of the expeditions was not so much to discover new lands, as to seek a Passage, a communication from the

* See *Herrera*, Decad. v. Book 8. Chap. 9, 10—Decad. viii. Book 6. Chap. 14—*Venegas*, *Hist. de la California*, 124—*Lorenzana*, *Hist.* page 322—*Robertson's Hist. of America*, Book V.

Reinhold Forster, speaking of the expedition of *Cortes*, says that he returned *without having done any thing* : it seems to me that this is disparaging it too much ; for, in short, *California* was discovered ; and the knowledge which was acquired of the existence of that country, was an introduction to discoveries more important. (See *Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*. By R. Forster. Translated from the German. London. 1776. 4to. page 448.)

ATLANTIC OCEAN to the WEST SEA, through AMERICA; and these researches were excited by the belief which was granted to a fable. In 1500, or 1501, GASPAR DE CORTEREAL, a Portuguese, a man of family, sailed from LISBON, arrived at NEWFOUNDLAND, visited its east coast, presented himself at the mouth of the River ST. LAWRENCE, discovered, above the fiftieth parallel, a land which he named TERRA DE LABRADOR, because he judged it fit for tillage and culture, at length, by ascending towards the north, reached the entrance of a Strait on which he imposed the name of Strait of ANIAN*, and which, upwards of a hundred years after, was called HUPSON'S Strait, from the name of an English navigator who, in 1610, penetrated by this passage into the Bay that has likewise retained his name, CORTEREAL, supposing in good earnest that the Strait whose entrance he had discovered must lead into the INDIAN OCEAN, hastened to return to LISBON in order to carry thither the news of his great discovery. He thence sailed again the following year for the purpose of proceeding to the EAST INDIES by his pretended Passage; but neither he nor his ship have since been heard of: in 1502, MIGUEL DE CORTEREAL undertook the same voyage in order to go in search of his brother, and

* This was the name of two brothers, companions of Cortereal.

his lot was not more fortunate: lastly, the eldest of the family, VASCO DE CORTEREAL, who held a great office at court, wished to equip a ship and expose himself to the hazards of navigation, in hopes of finding GASPAR and MIGUEL; but the King of PORTUGAL, who was particularly fond of him, and who conceived that this enterprize, dangerous for his favourite, would be of no use to those whom he regretted, opposed, by a prohibitory order, this fraternal mark of affection*.

The idea of this communication of the two seas to the northward, had got into vogue among the Spaniards, who, not content with the hitherto exclusive possession of a New World, were still ambitious of sharing, with the Portuguese, the riches which, through their means, those famous countries situated to the east of the Old Continent poured into EUROPE: MENDOÇA occupied, like his predecessors, with the project of arriving there, thought that if, in fact, the Strait of ANIAN existed, he might, by causing it to be sought for on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, discover its outlet into the WEST SEA.

With this view in 1540, he dispatched FRANCISCO VASQUES CORONADO by land, and FRANCISCO ALARÇON by sea, in search of the pretended Strait. ALARÇON went no farther than

* *Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes.* Lond. 1625. fo. vol. iv. pages 809 and 810.

the thirty-sixth parallel. His ship had sustained some damages; sickness began to make a progress among the crew; and the land, in this latitude, having appeared to him to trend to the north-west, he was afraid of going too far from the troops which were making researches by land under the command of CORONADO; he turned back, and regained the port whence he had sailed.*

The same project was resumed, in 1542, by RODRIGUES DE CABRILLO, a Portuguese in the service of SPAIN. He went not beyond the forty-fourth parallel. The extreme cold which he experienced in this latitude, sickness, want of provisions, the bad state and the bad qualities of a ship by no means calculated for the navigation of this sea, forced him to return before he had got as high as the parallel which his instructions had fixed. He had not made any discovery: only in the latitude of 42 degrees (or more exactly in 41° 36') he had perceived a point of land, to which, in honour of the viceroy, he gave the name of CAPE MENDOZINO; and from that cape, in coming down again to the Port of LA NAVIDAD †, situated in about 19° 45', whence he had been dispatched, he discovered that the coast formed a

* *Huan.Descrip. de las Indias.—Lacé. Nouv. Orbis.*

† *Navidad* and not *Natividad*.—In Spanish, *Natividad*, employed to indicate the day of a religious festival, indicates that of the *Nativity of the Virgin*; whereas the word *Navidad*, which is only an abbreviation of the former, signifies *Christmas*, the day of the *Birth of Jesus Christ*.

continued

continued line, without any interruption, any opening that could indicate a Strait*.

The Spaniards seemed to have lost sight of the discoveries to the northward, till in 1578, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, an English navigator, who has been rendered no less celebrated by his voyage round the world than by his exploits, after having, the first of his nation, passed the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN, scarcely yet known, and crossed the GREAT OCEAN from south to north, ravaging, in his way, the Spanish possessions, made the land on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, in the latitude of 48 degrees, which no Spanish navigator had yet reached; coasted the shore, in running down again to the parallel of 37 degrees; in the latitude of 38° 30' discovered the harbour where he made some stay, and which has preserved his name; imposed that of NEW ABBION on all the country of which he formally took possession in the name of ELIZABETH, queen of ENGLAND †; and, for the first time, AMERICA saw flying on her

* *Leit. Novus Orbis*. Lib. vi. cap. 19.

† *The World encompassed*, by Fletcher. London, 1653. 4to. page 64 and following. It appears from this account of Drake's voyage, that he gave to the country which he discovered, the name of *New Albion* for two reasons: the first, because, from the nature of the rocks and shoals with which the coast is skirted, it presents the same aspect as that of *England*; the second, because it was reasonable and just that this land, till then unknown, should bear the name of the country of the first navigator who landed there.

west coast the flag of GREAT BRITAIN, which, so frequently since, has there spread terror.

We now come to discoveries which for a long time were considered as fictitious : and if the researches of the voyagers of our days have shewn that they were not destitute of reality ; they have also proved that truth is often blended with falshood : I mean the expeditions of FUCA, of VISCAINO, and of Admiral DE FUENTE.

JUAN DE FUCA, a Greek of the Island of CEPHALONIA, whose real name was APOSTOLOS VALERIANOS, had been employed for upwards of forty years, in the service of SPAIN, as a mariner and pilot. On his return from his voyages, being at VENICE in 1596, he gave an account of his last expedition to MICHAEL LOCK, an Englishman, who inserted this account in a paper which SAMUEL PURCHAS has preserved for us in his COLLECTION OF VOYAGES.

FUCA, according to the account which he gave, had been dispatched from the harbour of ACAPULCO, in 1592, by the Viceroy of MEXICO, with a small caravel and a pinnace, for the purpose of discovering the communication, by the north of AMERICA, between the GREAT OCEAN and the ATLANTIC OCEAN. He saw, between the forty-seventh and the forty-eighth parallels, that the land trended to the north-east, and presented a large opening which might be a Strait : he continued sailing in it for the space of twenty days. In
some

some places, it is said, that the land extended towards the north-east; in others, towards the north-west; and the passage which became much wider than it was at its opening, contained several islands. FUGA frequently went on shore, and saw a number of inhabitants clothed with skins of animals: the country appeared to him very fertile, and it abounded with gold, silver, and pearls. He thus reached the ATLANTIC OCEAN. He had found that the Strait, throughout all its length, is of a width sufficient for navigation; and the mouth by which he had entered it, had appeared to him to be thirty or forty leagues wide. Two motives then decided him to effect his return by the same Passage: on the one hand, the object of his mission was accomplished; the communication of the two seas across the continent of AMERICA was discovered: on the other, he was afraid that, if he happened to be attacked by the savages, he was too weak for resisting their number. He therefore returned to ACAPULCO, where, for two years, he warmly solicited the reward which he seemed to deserve for a discovery that opened to SPAIN a new source of wealth and prosperity*.

Such is the abridged account which has been handed down to us of the expedition of JUAN DE

* See in the English collection of Purchas, vol. iii. pages 849 — 852, several documents relative to this expedition.—See too the *Traité des Tartares* by Bergsson, Chap. 21. page 125 and following. 4to,

FUCA; and we are persuaded that every thing which is reported of it is not apochryphal, since in 1787, Captain BERKLEY, and, in 1788, Captain DUNCAN with his ship, and Captain MEARES in his long-boat, both discovered, towards the latitude of $48^{\circ} 30'$, an entrance which was visited in part, and the shores of which they found inhabited by men similar to those of whom the Spanish navigator has given a description: we may even believe, on the testimony of Mr. MEARES, who has represented this discovery on the charts which accompany the narrative of his voyages*, that, in 1789, the American sloop WASHINGTON, commanded by Captain GRAY, having entered by the Strait of FUCA, rounded to the eastward a large archipelago the extent of which is upwards of a hundred and sixty leagues on a north-north-west and south-south-east line, and which comprises in its southern part NOOTKA Sound, so well known by the third voyage of Captain COOK. The same narrative and the same chart also indicate that, in sailing along the east coast of this archipelago, in an open sea, the WASHINGTON was constantly in sight of the high lands of the continent, which bore from her east. Admitting that the track of the American sloop is well ascertained, we should owe a sort of reparation to JUAN DE FUCA, and it would be no

* Voyages made in the Year 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-west Coast of America, &c. by John Meares. London, 1790. 4to.

more.

more than justice to give him credit for what is true in the account which PURCHAS has published. We might therefore grant that this navigator discovered the inlet or strait which bears his name, not a strait of 30 or 40 leagues in width, but of 4 or 5 leagues; that, after having crossed it, he penetrated into the interior sea or basin which is said to have been discovered, in these latter times, by the WASHINGTON; that, having proceeded 150 or 160 leagues in this basin, he did not doubt that it would conduct him into the ATLANTIC OCEAN; and that, on this presumption, which he may have considered as a certainty, he hastened to return as he went in order to announce his discovery, as CORTREAL, the Portuguese, had done with respect to his STRAIT OF ANIAN, at this day HUDSON'S Strait. It is probable that the truth of his account is confined to the inlet which bears the name of FUCA, and perhaps to a large basin, or an interior sea, which separates a great archipelago from the high lands of the continent: but nothing seems less proved, and, it may be said, nothing is less probable than his pretended communication of the GREAT OCEAN with the ATLANTIC OCEAN; for if it existed, the channel could not open to the eastward but on some point of the west coast of HUDSON'S Bay; and this coast has been visited so diligently, and repeatedly, by the English, who, for a long time past, have had settlements fixed on the coasts of this interior sea, and who had a knowledge

more

knowledge of FUCA's narrative, that it is not allowable to suppose that the communication could have escaped their researches. But it is very certain that FUCA ought to be reproached with having added to his discovery. I should not be disinclined to believe that some ardent partisan of the NORTH-WEST Passage, has, by a specious fraud, indulged himself in proclaiming the discovery of this Passage, in order to keep alive the prevailing opinion, that there must exist in this part a communication between the two seas, and by this means excite English navigators to multiply the efforts and researches that might lead them to this discovery.

As for the gold, silver, and pearls which were to be found in the country which FUCA says he discovered, it appears that the Spaniards themselves gave not more credit to this seducing account than we grant to it at this day, since they did not follow up this discovery. At the period when it was made, every head was so full of the idea of the inexhaustible riches which the New World was to pour into the Old, that the adventurers fancied that, on this new land, all was gold, and that every shell of the sea was to yield a pearl. The men clothed with skins of animals such as FUCA had seen there, have certainly been found again, in these latter times; but, hitherto, the pearls and the precious metals are to be met with only in PURCHASE's account: and it might probably happen that the

same

same hand which has there opened a passage from one ocean to the other, had also strewn there the riches which might present to those who should wish to employ themselves in search of the passage, the assurance or at least the hope of indemnifying themselves on the route, for the advances which they should have made.

The second expedition respecting which or at least respecting a circumstance of which we may entertain doubts that will appear well founded, is that of Admiral VISCAINO : it had been determined on from political considerations.

The arrival of Admiral Drake, in 1578, on the west coast of AMERICA, as well as the entrance of CAVENDISH in 1587, and that of OLIVIER VAN NOORT, in 1598, into the GREAT OCEAN, improperly called the PACIFIC OCEAN, had apprized the Spaniards that the entrance of this sea of which, till then, they considered themselves as sole proprietors and sovereigns, was henceforth open to all nations. This certainty was calculated to alarm usurpers: indeed, SPAIN might fear that navigators, enterprising as the English are, and so accustomed to long voyages, would renew on the west coast of AMERICA, those scenes of devastation which had signalized the unexpected appearance of the DRAKES and CAVENDISHES; and that shortly, encouraged by the first successes which the ancient valour of the Castilians had not even attempted to dispute, ENGLAND would conceive and execute

execute the project of forming settlements in the parts to the northward which were not yet occupied by the Spaniards, and had not even been explored by their navigators. These settlements, indeed, the English could obtain only by invasion, only by violating towards the natives of the country, all the laws of nature and of nations; but the example of the Spaniards would have seemed perhaps to justify this enterprise; and, like them, the English might create motives for authorizing themselves to oppose to these laws, too often forgotten or evaded, the only law which conquerors acknowledge, that of force, which does not render usurpations lawful in the eyes of reason and justice, but which, unfortunately, is sufficient for effecting conquests, and consolidating them.

These considerations, and the desire of finding in the vicinity of Cape MENDOCINO, a harbour that might afford, at once, to the galleons returning from the PHILIPPINES a shelter against the winds and a refuge against the enemy's cruisers, no doubt, determined PHILIP III. to order his Viceroy of MEXICO, DON GASPAR DE ZUNIGA, Count DE MONTEREY, to cause an exact survey to be made of the coasts situated on the parallels adjacent to that of Cape MENDOCINO, discovered in 1542, by RODRIGUES CABRILLO.

SEBASTIAN VISCAINO was charged with this mission, and set sail from ACAPULCO, on the 5th of May 1602, with two ships, a frigate, and a decked

decked boat. He visited the harbours and islands at which he could touch, and had frequently to struggle against the north-west winds which prevail on that coast. At length, he succeeded in discovering, towards the latitude of $36^{\circ} 40'$, an excellent harbour on which, in honour of the Viceroy, he imposed the name of PUERTO DE MONTEREY, and which, since, is become the principal settlement of the Spaniards on the NORTH-WEST coast. VISCAINO afterwards ascended as far as the parallel of Cape MENDOCINO, in $41^{\circ} 30'$, of which he got sight; but sickness beginning to manifest itself on board his ships, he pushed his researches no farther, and hastened to effect his return to the harbour of ACAPULCO.

The harbour of MONTEREY is at this day too well known for that part of the discoveries of VISCAINO to give room to any observation*; but TORQUEMADA who has transmitted to us the account of this expedition in his *Monarquia Indiana* †, adds that MARTIN DE AGUILAR, who commanded one of the small vessels, having been separated from the squadron by the violence of the winds, succeeded in doubling Cape MENDOCINO,

* Great details respecting the harbour and the Presidio of Monterey, will be found in the account of *La Pérouse's* voyage, now printing.

† Lib. v. Chap. 45 and 55.—See too the *Considérations géographiques et physiques*, par Philippe Buache, Paris, 1753. 4to. page 33.

which, till then, had been only perceived; that, on the 19th of January 1603, thirty leagues more to the northward than this cape, in the latitude of 43° , he discovered a second cape or point to which he gave the name of CAPO BLANCO; that beyond the latter, the coast begins to decline more to the eastward; that at last, near CAPO BLANCO, he discovered a safe and navigable inlet which he took for the mouth of a large river; but that this inlet is a strait which leads to a great city, named QUIVIRA; that the rapidity of the current prevented him from ascending the river; and that, being forced to relinquish the attempt, recollecting, besides, that the mission of VISCAINO had no other object than to seek and examine a harbour, and this object being accomplished, he had resolved to return to ACAPULCO.

The navigators of these latter times have procured us no information, either respecting this inlet of MARTIN DE AGUILAR, or this great city of QUIVIRA. The Spaniards assert that, in a voyage made in 1775*, they in vain looked for the inlet between the latitude of $45^{\circ} 27'$ and $45^{\circ} 50'$: but it seems that they would have had more hopes of finding it, if their search had been directed to the vicinity of CAPO BLANCO, situated towards the parallel of 43° . Captain COOK, in his examination of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA in 1778, made the land in a latitude

* See farther on at the year 1775.

more to the northward than that of CAPO BLANCO, and could not perceive this part of the coast but at a distance; his discoveries begin only at NOOTKA Sound, situated towards the latitude of $49^{\circ} 46'$, that is, five or six degrees to the northward of CAPO BLANCO. On the other hand, LA PÉROUSE who, in 1786, got a distant view of this cape and of the parts of the coast which are nearest to it to the northward and southward, saw nothing of AGUILAR's Inlet: but as he was then at a somewhat great distance from land, and as he did not make a particular search for this inlet, no conclusion can thence be drawn against its existence. It has not come to my knowledge that, more recently, any navigator has endeavoured to clear up this point of geography: and it would, methinks, be forming a hasty opinion, to decide, as some of the learned have done, that no credit ought to be given to the account of TORQUEMADA. Most of the geographical and hydrographical charts place AGUILAR's inlet or river to the southward of CAPO BLANCO; but TOMAS LOPEZ, in his general Chart of AMERICA, published in 1772, lays it down twenty leagues to the northward of that cape, in the latitude of 44° , with this simple indication: *Rio que corre a l'Oeste* (River that runs to the west); and he makes there no mention of the great city of QUIVIRA.

Although the discovery of FUCA and that of AGUILAR might not be generally admitted, yet

they were indicated on every chart. This is not the case with those of Admiral DE FUENTE: these were delineated only on a few systematic charts; people even imagined that they ought to concern themselves no more about an expedition which they had not heard spoken of till long after the period to which it is carried back. But as it is at this day demonstrated that it is not fabulous in all points; that it is not a romance wholly invented for the purpose of exciting the ardour and the researches of adventurers: that it is therefore probable that the Spaniards have imagined they had a great interest in burying it in the most profound oblivion, it is expedient to present it with some detail.

Towards the beginning of the present century, there was circulated in EUROPE the account of an expedition performed in 1640, by one Admiral BARTOLOMEO DE FUENTE or DE FONTE, according as his origin is Spanish or Portuguese, and DE FONTE, according to some authors. This account, the source of which is unknown, and which is under the form of a letter written by the Admiral himself, appeared for the first time, in LONDON, in 1708, in a periodical work, entitled *Memoirs for the Curious*, for the months of April and June. It long occupied the English, German, and French geographers. About the middle of this century, JOSEPH NICOLAS DE LISLE and PHILIPPE BUACHE published learned dissertations and

and ingenious systems for the purpose of reconciling the discoveries of FUENTE on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, with what we know besides of that northern part of the New Continent*. Other geographers and a few of the learned have considered the account of Admiral DE FUENTE as counterfeit and apochryphal: and among the latter is DOCTOR REINHOLD FORSTER who, with GEORGE FORSTER, his son, accompanied Captain COOK in his second voyage, and to whom we are indebted for an excellent *History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*. The enumeration of the reasons on which the adversaries supported on either side this long and learned discussion which has lost much of its interest, would here appear to me superfluous; I shall confine myself to presenting an account of the discoveries of Admiral DE FUENTE, such as they appear in the letter that is supposed to be written by himself; and I shall take the liberty only of annexing to them a few observations †.

* See *Explication de la Carte des nouvelles Découvertes du Nord de la Mer du Sud, par Joseph Nicolas de Lisle*. Paris, 1752. 4to.—*Considérations géographiques et physiques sur les nouvelles Découvertes au Nord de la grande Mer du Sud, par Philippe Buache*. Paris, 1753. 4to.—See too several Memoirs of the Bailli d'Engel on the same subjects.

† Having met with a copy of this number of the *Memoirs for the Curious*, we shall, for the satisfaction of our readers, give a transcript of the original letter.—*Translator*.

“ The Viceroy of NEW SPAIN and PERU, having advice from the Court of SPAIN, that the several attempts of the English, both in the reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, King JAMES, and of Capt. HUDSON and Capt. JAMES, in the 2d, 3d and 4th years of King CHARLES, was in the 14th year of the said King CHARLES, A. D. 1639, undertaken from some industrious navigators from BOSTON in NEW ENGLAND, upon which I Admiral DE FONTE received orders from SPAIN and the Viceroy to equip four ships of force, and being ready, we put to sea the 3d of April 1640, from the Calao of LIMA, I Admiral BARTHOLOMEO DE FONTE in the ship *ESPIRITU SANTO*, the Vice-admiral Don DIEGO DE PENNELOSSA in the ship *SANTA LUCIA*, PEDRO DE BERNARDO in the ship *EL ROSARIO*, FELIPE DE RONQUILLO in the *EL RE FELIPE*. The 7th of April at 5 in the afternoon, we had the length of ST. HELENA, two hundred leagues on the north side of the Bay of GUAJAQUIL, in 2 degrees of south latitude, and anchored in the Port of ST. HELENA, within the cape, where each ship's company took in a quantity of *Bitumen*, vulgarly called *Tar*, of a dark colour with a cast of green, an excellent remedy against the Scurvy and Dropsie, and is used as *Tar* for Shipping, but we took it in for Medicine; it boils out of the earth, and is there plenty. The 10th we passed the equinoctial by Cape DEL PAS-640, the 11th Cape ST. FRANCISCO, in one de-
gree

gree and seven minutes of latitude north from the equator, and anchored in the mouth of the River ST. JAGO *, where with a Sea-Net we catch'd abundance of good fish ; and several of each ship's company went ashore, and killed some goats and swine, which are there wild and in plenty ; and others bought of some Natives, 20 dozen of *Turkey* cocks and hens, ducks, and much excellent fruit, at a village two *Spanish* leagues, six miles and a half, up the River ST. JAGO, on the larboard side or the left hand. The river is navigable for small vessels from the sea, about 14 *Spanish* leagues south-east, about half way to the fair city of QUITA, in 22 minutes of south latitude, a city that is very rich. The 16th of April we sailed from the River ST. JAGO to the Port and Town RALEO, 320 leagues W. N. W. a little westerly, in about 11 degrees 14 minutes of north latitude, leaving Mount ST. MIGUEL on the larboard side, and Port CAZAMINA on the starboard side. The Port of RALEO is a safe Port, is covered from the sea by the Islands AMPALLO and MANGREZA, both well inhabited with native Indians, and 3 other small islands. RALEO † is but 4 miles over land from the head of the lake NIGARAQUE, that falls into the North Sea in 12 degrees of north latitude, near the Corn or *Pearl* Islands. Here at

* Eighty leagues N. N. W. and 25 leagues E. and by S.

† The great ships that are built in *New Spain* are built in *Raleo*.

the Town of RALEO, where is abundance of excellent close-grained timber, a reddish cedar, and all materials for building shipping, we bought 4 long well-fail'd shallops, built expressly for sailing and riding at anchor and rowing, about 12 tons each, of 32 foot keel. The 26th we sailed from RALEO for the Port of SARAGUA, or rather of SALAGUA, within the islands and shoals of CHAMILY, and the port is often called by the Spaniards after that Name; in 17 degrees 31 minutes of north latitude, 480 Leagues north west and by west, a little westerly, from RALEO. From the Town of SARAGUA, a little east of CHAMILY at SARAGUA, and from COMPOSTILO in the neighbourhood of this port, we took in a master and six mariners accustomed to trade with the natives on the east side of CALIFORNIA for Pearl, the Natives catch'd on a bank in 19 degrees of latitude north from the BAXOS ST. JUAN, in 24 degrees of north latitude 20 Leagues north north east from Cape ST. LUCAS, the south east point of CALIFORNIA. The Master Admiral DE FONTE had hir'd, with his vessel and marinera, who had informed the Admiral, that 200 leagues north from Cape ST. LUCAS, a flood from the north, met the south flood, and that he was sure it must be an Island, and DON DIEGO PENELOSSA (Sister's Son of DON LEWIS DE HARO *) a young nobleman of great knowledge and address in cosmo-

* Don Lewis de Haro was great Minister of Spain.

graphy and navigation, and undertook to discover whether CALIFORNIA was an Island or not; for before it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula; with his ship and the 4 shallops they bought at RALEO and the master and mariners they hir'd at SALAGUA, but Admiral DE FONTE with the other 3 ships sailed from them within the islands CHAMILY the 10th of May 1640, and having the length of Cape ABEL, on the west-south-west side of CALIFORNIA in 26 degrees of north latitude, 160 Leagues north-west by west from the Isles CHAMILY; the wind sprung up at S. S. E.* a steady Gale, that from the 26th of May to the 14th of June, he had sailed to the River LOS REYES in 53 degrees of north latitude, not having occasion to lower a top-sail, in sailing 866 Leagues N. N. W. 410 leagues from Port ABEL to Cape BLANCO, 456 leagues to RIO LOS REYES, all the time the most pleasant weather, and sailed about 260 leagues in crooked channels, amongst islands named the Archipelago DE ST. LAZARUS † where his ships

* According to the narrative, *Fuente*, from the latitude of 20 degrees, which is to the southward of the most southern point of *California*, went as far as 53 degrees, with a *south-south-east* wind which blew a steady gale for a month. Nothing is more extraordinary than this *steady* gale at south-south-east; for it is well known that ships which want to get to the northward of *California*, meet with the greatest difficulties and the longest delays in their route, because the winds, on all this coast, blow almost constantly from the north or north-west.

† So named by *De Fonte*, he being the first that made the discovery.

boats

graphy

boats always failed a mile ahead, sounding to see what water, rocks, and sands there was. The 22nd of June, Admiral DE FONTE dispatch'd one of his Captains to PEDRO DE BERNARDO to sail up a fair river, a gentle stream and deep water, went first N. and N. E. then N. and N. W. into a large lake full of Islands, and one very large Peninsula full of inhabitants, a friendly, honest people in this lake; he named lake VALASCO where Captain BERNARDO left his ship; nor all up the river was less than 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 fathom water, both the rivers and lakes abounding with salmon-trouts, and very large white perch, some of two foot long; and with 3 large Indian boats, by them called Periagos, made of two large trees 50 or 60 foot long. Captain BERNARDO first sailed from his ships in the Lake VALASCO, one hundred and forty Leagues west, and then 436 E. N. E. to 77 degrees of latitude. Admiral DE FONTE, after he had dispatch'd Captain BERNARDO on the Discovery of the north and east part of the Tartarian Sea, the Admiral sail'd up a very navigable river, which he named RIO LOS REYES, that run nearest north-east, but on several points of the compass 60 leagues at low water, in a fair navigable channel, not less than 4 or 5 fathom water. It flowed in both rivers near the same water, in the River Los REYES, 24 foot full and change of the moon; a S. S. E. moon made high water. It flowed in the River de HAKO 22 foot and a half full and change. They

They had two Jesuits* with them that had been on their mission to the 66th degree of north latitude, and had made curious observations. The Admiral DE FONTE received a letter from Captain BERNARDO, dated the 27th of June 1640, that he had left his ship in the lake VALASCO, betwixt the Island BERNARDO and the Peninsula CONIHASSET, a very safe port; it went down a river from the lake, 3 falls, 80 leagues, and fell into the Tartarian Sea in 61 degrees, with the Pater Jesuits and 36 natives in 3 of their boats and 20 of his Spanish seamen; that the land trended away north east; that they should want no provisions, the country abounding with venison of 3 sorts, and the sea and rivers with excellent fish (bread, salt, oyl, and brandy they carry'd with them) that he should do what was possible. The Admiral, when he received the letter from Captain BERNARDO, was arrived at an Indian town called CONOSSET, on the south side of the Lake BELLE, where the two Pater Jesuits on their mission had been two years; a pleasant place. The Admiral with his two ships, enter'd the lake the 22nd of June, an hour before high water, and there was no fall or cataract, and 4 or 5 fathom water, and 6 or 7 fathom generally in the Lake BELLE, there is a little-fall of water till half flood, and an hour and a quarter before high water the

* One of those that went with Captain *Bernardo* on the discovery.

flood

They

flood begins to set gently into the Lake BELLE ; the River is fresh at 20 Leagues' distance from the mouth or entrance of the River LOS REYES. The River and Lake abound with salmon, salmon-trouts, pikes, perch, and mullets, and two other sorts of fish peculiar to that River, admirable good ; and Lake BELLE also abounds with all those sorts of fish large and delicate ; And Admiral DE FONTE says, the mullets catch'd in Rio LOS REYES and Lake BELLE are much delicater than are to be found, he believes, in any part of the world.

“ The first of July, 1640, Admiral DE FONTE failed from the rest of his ships in Lake BELLE in a good port cover'd by a fine island, before the town CONOSSET from thence to a River I named PARMENTIERS, in honour of my Industrious Judicious Comrade Mr. PARMENTIERS, who had most exactly mark'd every thing in and about the River ; we pass'd 8 falls, in all 32 foot, perpendicular from its source out of BELLE ; it falls into the large Lake I named Lake DE FONTE, at which place we arrived the 6th of July. This Lake is 160 Leagues long and 60 broad ; the length is E. N. E. and W. S. W. to 20 or 30, in some places 60 fathom deep ; the Lake abounds with excellent cod and ling, very large and well fed, there are several very large Islands and 10 small ones ; they are covered with shrubby Woods, the Moss grows 6 or 7 foot long, with which the Moose, a very large

large sort of Deer, are fat with in the winter, and other lesser Deer, as Fallow, &c. There are abundance of Wild Cherries, Strawberries, Hurtleberries, and wild currants, and also of wild Fowl, Heath Cocks and Hens, likewise Partridges and Turkeys, and sea-Fowl in great plenty: on the South side of the Lake is a very large fruitful Island, had a great many Inhabitants, and very excellent Timber, as Oaks, Ashes, Elm and Fir-trees, very large and tall.

"The 14th of July we sailed out of the E. N. E. end of the Lake DE FONTE, and pass'd a Lake I named ESTRICHO DE RONQUILLO, 34 Leagues long, 2 or 3 Leagues broad, 20, 26, and 28 Fathom of water; we pass'd this Strait in 10 hours, having a stout gale of Wind and whole Ebb. As we sailed more easterly, the Country grew very sensibly worse, as it is in the North and South parts of AMERICA, from 36 to the extreme Parts North and South, the West differs not only in Fertility, but in Temperature of Air, at least 10 Degrees, and it is warmer on the West side than on the East, as the best Spanish Discoverers found it, whose business it was in the time of the Emperor CHARLES V. to PHILIP III. as is noted by ALOARES and A COSTA and MARIANE &c.

"The 17th we came to an Indian Town, and the Indians told our Interpreter Mr. PARMEN-TIERS, that a little way from us lay a great ship where there had never been one before; we sailed

to them, and found only one man advanced in years, and a youth; the man was the greatest Man in the Mechanical Parts of the Mathematics I ever met with; my second Mate was an English Man, an excellent Seaman, as was my gunner, who had been taken Prisoners at CAMPECHY, as well as the Master's Son; they told me the Ship was of NEW ENGLAND, from a Town called BOSTON *. The Owner and the whole Ship's Company came on board the 30th, and the Navigator of the Ship, Capt. SHAPLEY, told me, his Owner was a fine Gentleman, and Major General of the largest Colony in New England, called the MALTECHUSETS; so I received him like a Gentleman, and told him, my Commission was to make Prize of any People seeking a North-west or West Passage into the South Sea; but I would look upon them as Merchants trading with the Natives for Beavers, Otters, and other Furs and Skins, and so for a small Present of Provisions I had no need on, I gave him my Diamond Ring, which cost me 1200 Pieces of Eight (which the modest Gentleman received with difficulty), and having given the brave

* We are astonished that the English editor of Admiral DE FUENTE's letter, to whom it is probable that we are indebted for the romantic part, with which, no doubt from a laudable motive, he has thought proper to embellish his narrative, should have so sterile an imagination: most assuredly, he is not fertile in resources; and it is evident that his voyage of *Fuente*, and his voyage of *Bernardo*, into the interior of *America*, are sketched on the same plan, and both present only the same incidents and the same particularities.

Navigator,

Navigator, Capt. SHAPLEY, for his fine Charts and Journals, 1000 Pieces of Eight, and the Owner of the Ship, SEIMOR GIBBONS, a quarter Cask of good Peruan WINE, and the 10 Seamen each 20 Pieces of Eight, the 6th of August, with as much Wind as we could fly before, and a Current, we arrived at the first Fall of the River PARMENTIERS, the 11th of August, 86 Leagues, and was on the South Side of the Lake BELLE on board our Ships the 16th of August, before the fine Town of CONOSSET, where we found all things well, and the honest Natives of CONOSSET had in our absence treated our People with great humanity, and Captain DE RONQUILLO answered their civility and justice.

“ The 20th of August an Indian brought me a Letter to CONOSSET on the Lake BELLE, from Captain BERNARDO, dated the 11th of August, where he sent me word he was returned from his Cold Expedition, and did assure me there was no Communication out of the Spanish or ATLANTIC Sea, by DAVIS's Strait; for the Natives had conducted one of his Seamen to the head of DAVIS's Strait, which terminated in a fresh Lake of about 30 Miles in circumference, in the 80th Degree of north latitude; and that there was prodigious Mountains North of it, besides to the North-West from that Lake, the Ice was so fixed, that from the Shore to 100 Fathom Water, for ought he knew from the Creation; for Mankind knew little of the wonderful

Navigator,

ful Works of God, especially near the North and South Poles; he writ further, that he had sailed from BASSET Island North-East and East North-East, and North-East and by East, to the 79th Degree of Latitude, and then the Land trended North, and the Ice rested on the Land. I received afterwards a second Letter from Captain BERNARDO, dated from MINHANSET, informing me, that he made the Port of ARENA, 20 Leagues up the River LOS REYES the 29th of August, where he waited my Commands. I having store of good Salt Provisions, of Venison and Fish, that Captain DE RONQUILLO had salted (by my order) in my absence, and 100 Hogshheads of Indian Wheat or Mais, sailed the 2d of September 1640, accompanied with many of the honest Natives of CONOSSET, and the 5th of September in the Morning about Eight, was at an Anchor betwixt ARENA and MINHANSET, in the River LOS REYES, sailing down that River to the North-east part of the South Sea; after that returned home, *having found that there was no passage into the SOUTH SEA by what they call the North-West Passage.*"

This conclusion of the Admiral's letter seems to destroy every thing that is there mentioned of his interior navigation; for if, in fact, after having entered a river situated in the latitude of 53°, and holding constantly a route which carried him towards the east, he proceeded, by other rivers and lakes till he met with Captain SHAPELY's vessel which

which came from BOSTON, and consequently from the eastward, it is certain that there would be an open communication between the two oceans through the NORTH part of AMERICA. It might be imagined, if all the details of this interior navigation are really contained in the original letter, that, in saying that the passage sought does not exist, the Admiral meant that the northern part of the American continent is not divided by a continued Strait or Channel, navigable for ships throughout its whole length, as the south part is divided by the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN; and that the communication of the seas to the northward is interrupted by the cataracts of the River PARMEN-TIERS, which either require a carrying-place, or a removal into craft that can clear the cataracts. But if, as several motives incline us to suppose, some zealous promoter of the search after the passage, informed that in 1640, a Spanish Admiral had discovered, in the latitude of 53° , a great archipelago, and a large navigable river whose bed extends in a north-east direction, has raised on this foundation a chimerical superstructure, delineated on paper imaginary rivers and lakes, which establish a short and easy communication between the two seas, it is not possible that this Editor of a pretended letter of FUENTE, after having interwoven in a true narrative every thing that might make his readers believe in the existence of a passage, every thing that was likely to excite the

zeal and efforts of his countrymen to rival a supposed discovery of the Spaniards, had forgot himself, and was not aware that the last words which he makes the Admiral write, and which it is probable that he did write, namely, that there was no passage, are sufficient to occasion the reality of the account to be suspected, and for involving in one common proscription fiction and truth.

Doctor REINHOLD FORSTER insists that the account of Admiral FUENTE should be classed among *Imaginary Voyages*: he even does not hesitate to compare it to an English work, known by the title of *Daniel de Foë's New Voyage round the World, by a course never failed before* *. I own, however, that, if the reasons by which this naturalist endeavours to strengthen himself in his incredulity, were the only ones that could be opposed to the letter published under the name of FUENTE, I should not think that we are justified in concluding that the letter is apochryphal. "We shall not," says Mr. FORSTER, "refer to any of his opponents, but only observe, that it is difficult to conceive, since the Spaniards have so carefully explored the coast of NORTH AMERICA in 1775; since the immortal COOK has navigated this same coast; since the Russian adventurers have begun, more than ever to frequent and accurately examine this coast; since the HUD-

* *Forster's Northern Voyages and Discoveries*, page 454.

"SON'S Bay Company has, very lately only, caused
 "a journey to be made by land to the FROZEN
 "SEA; it is difficult, I say, after all this, to con-
 "ceive where we are to insert the Archipelago of
 "SAN LAZARO, the RIO DE LOS REYES, the
 "LAGO BELLO, the river PARMENTIRE, the LAGO
 "DE FUENTE, the ESTRECHO DE RONGUEILLO,
 "the river HARO, the river BERNARDO, the LAGO
 "VELASCO, and the peninsula of CONIBASSET;
 "all which are found in the narrative or rather
 "the reveries of DE FONTE *."

In whatever esteem I may hold the extensive erudition and discriminating genius of Mr. FORSTER, I cannot dissemble the weakness of those objections: they vanish if they are compared with facts.

It will be seen farther on, in the voyages of the SPANIARDS, of Captain COOK, and of the RUSSIANS, on which Mr. FORSTER rests: 1. That the SPANIARDS, in their voyage of 1775, in ascending from $47^{\circ} 40'$ to the latitude of 57° north, sailed at too great a distance from the land ever to have sight of it; and that, in standing back to the southward, it was only in 47° that they began to distinguish and examine the coasts, the capes, &c. 2. That Captain COOK had been deprived of the sight of the land from the 50th to the 56th parallel. 3. That the RUSSIANS, in those of their voyages with which we are acquainted,

* Forster's *Northern Voyages and Discoveries*, page 454.

have never come farther south than the latitude of 56° *: thus, neither have the RUSSIANS, COOK, nor the SPANIARDS, ever had an opportunity of verifying a discovery which FUENTE's narrative places in the latitude of 53° .

As for the objection which the journey by land from HUDSON'S Bay to the FROZEN SEA furnishes to Mr. FORSTER, it does not appear to me more valid. The Travels of Mr. HEARNE and others, who all set off from the parallels of 59 or 60° , and went as far to the northward as the land could carry them, prove nothing against the reality of a discovery which is to be placed in the 53° parallel. Arguments might much rather be found from the researches that have been made in the country situated to the westward of the south part of HUDSON'S Bay towards the parallel of 53° , but this survey which, hitherto, appears not to have been carried beyond 300 or 350 leagues to the westward, might only prove that there does not exist in that quarter a communication between the two seas; but not that 200 or 300 leagues to the westward of the limit of this survey, Admiral DE FUENTE did not discover on the west coast of

* When I say that the Russians came no lower than the latitude of 56° , I do not mean to speak of the *Alutian* Islands which are a dependency of *America*, and the most southern of which extend under the 51^{st} parallel; the question here only regards the great West Coast of the Continent, distant about three hundred leagues to the eastward of the most eastern of the *Alutian* Islands.

AMERICA, a great archipelago, a large navigable river and lakes where boats might enter.

It seems to me that, from the information which has been procured us respecting this quarter by the navigators who visited it in 1786—87—88 and 89, it is possible to distinguish in the letter of Admiral DE FUENTE, what is truth from what belongs to fiction; and nothing is more common than fictions in the old narratives of the Spaniards. Certainly, I shall not believe that the Admiral, with the sole help of the flood-tide, cleared, in his shallop, cataracts of 32 feet in perpendicular height; I shall not believe the existence of that great LAGO DE FUENTE, full of large inhabited islands; I shall not believe the existence of those great cities in a country where none were ever seen; nor of those natives so humane, so hospitable, who abundantly victualled the squadron, and provided for all its wants, and who, though likely to speak different languages; are all equally well understood by the Spaniards: neither shall I believe the existence of that great lake VELASCO, in which Captain BERNARDO, after having sailed 140 leagues west, then runs 436 east-north-east, a direction which, from the point whence he sails, ought to have carried him to the latitude of 60 degrees, and which conveys him, as by enchantment, to 77 and even to 79 degrees: I shall not believe the meeting with the BOSTON ship of Captain SHAPLEY, whom the

Admiral goes to visit with his shallop, no doubt on the west side of HUDSON'S Bay : lastly, I shall not believe that, in an unknown country, across lakes, straits, rivers, and cataracts, it is possible to terminate, in the space of *two months*, a voyage of *six hundred leagues* to go, and *six hundred leagues* to return. All this heap of wonders and absurdities is, if I may use the expression, the fable of a poem ; it is, if the reader please, the bait which the English editor of FUENTE'S letter has presented to the avidity of adventurers whom he wishes to induce to pursue the search of a NORTH-WEST Passage ; but let us see whether, in the midst of all these exaggerations, in the midst of all these falsehoods, we shall not distinguish one single fact, one single truth.

The Spanish historians have made no mention of FUENTE'S voyage, I know not even whether this Admiral is so much as named in the histories of AMERICA ; but their silence respecting that event would be no proof that the voyage was not performed. The discoveries of the modern voyagers of other nations, less reserved than in passed times, were those of Spanish AMERICA to whom secrecy was enjoined, and who, in general, have observed it too well, may throw a great light on the discoveries of the ancient navigators. We are certain that, in the interval from 1786 to 1789, LA PÉROUSE, and after him, the English navigators and the Americans of the UNITED STATES, whom

whom the fur-trade has brought in crowds to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, have discovered and visited, between the 47th and the 56th parallels, near 200 leagues of coast, where Captain COOK, before these periods, had already discovered, in the south part, the Port called NOOTKA Sound. All this space, which comprises to the south, the INLET or STRAIT of FUCA, and to the north, other INLETS, several of which have been examined and in which ships have anchored, presents, throughout its whole length, only a string of grouped islands, forming between them innumerable channels; and several of these are seen in the latitude of 53°, in which FUENTE places his Archipelago of SAN LAZARO and his RIO DE LOS REYES. If we admit that this Admiral, after having crossed the Archipelago, arrived in that great sea where Captain MEARIS affirms that, in 1789, the American sloop the WASHINGTON, sailed, leaving the archipelago to the west, and seeing the lands of the continent to the east, we may believe that FUENTE, perceiving ahead of him the main land, directed his course towards it; that, having reached the coast, he there discovered, in the latitude of 53°, a large river, into which he carried his ships; and that his boats, in ascending it, may have proceeded as far as the lake where the source of the river is situated*. We conceive

* I shall here say, anticipating in point of date, that in 1786, *La Pérouse* discovered, at a somewhat considerable distance

ceive afterwards that the Admiral, or the Editor of his Letter, may have accompanied these facts which

distance to the west of the continent, a string of lands, or islands, the middle of which is situated towards the latitude of 53° , he ascertained that they are separated from the main land by a channel, or a long gulf about 20 leagues in width; and after having crossed this channel from west to east, he discovered to the eastward of the former lands, towards $52^{\circ} 30'$, a large archipelago which is not, however, the continent, but beyond which he distinguished the high lands which belong to it. In 1788, Captain *Duncan* visited the east coast of the first-mentioned lands which had been discovered by *La Pérouse*, and the west coast of the archipelago situated to the eastward of those lands; he found that this archipelago presented a considerable number of openings, inlets, passages, &c. Lastly, in 1789, Captain *Grey*, of the sloop *Washington*, belonging to the *United States*, after having crossed *Fuca's Strait* which terminates to the south the great archipelago, entered, it is said, into an open sea, coasted the east shore of this archipelago, and had constantly, to the eastward, and at a great distance, a view of the high lands of the continent.

On comparing with these discoveries of our time (*the accounts of which I suppose to be exact*) what we read in *Fuente's* narrative, we might perhaps suppose that the Admiral, driven into the offing by contrary winds, had at first examined the west coast of the first-mentioned islands, the most distant from the continent, and the middle of which is situated towards the latitude of 53° ; that having crossed these lands which present several channels, in which an established current may give to a long strait the appearance of a river, he found himself in the gulf which separates these first lands or islands from the great east archipelago; that, having, in standing to the eastward, reached this second archipelago, which he took for the continent, he put in there, towards the latitude of 53° , into some one of those numerous openings discovered by Captain *Duncan*; that, having entered this opening which he has taken

which are probable, and perhaps true, with all the romantic embellishments that have determined some learned men to class this account among imaginary voyages: but it may be no less true that, in the latitude of 53° , the Admiral sailed across an archipelago, that beyond it, he found an open sea, an inhabited coast, a great river, and some lakes; and that while he, on coming out of the archi-

taken for the mouth of a river, he ascended it towards the north-east; that this route brought him to that interior sea which the *Washington* had discovered, and that, taking it for a great lake, and having crossed it from east to west, he arrived at the coast of the continent, where he found the mouth of a river, by which he may have been able to penetrate, to a certain distance, into the interior of the country.

These suppositions, no doubt, offer nothing improbable; but no method presents itself for verifying the facts. However, I am rather inclined to believe that the archipelago on which *Fuente* imposed the name of the Archipelago of *San Lázaro*, is that which is the nearest to the continent, that which joins to it again by its north and south extremities, and to the eastward of which is situated that large open sea which separates it from the continent. What leads me to think so, is that, according to the account, *Fuente* proceeded 260 Spanish leagues, or near 300 marine leagues, in the winding channels of his Archipelago of *San Lázaro*; and that we know that the archipelago which *La Pérouse* discovered twenty leagues from the continent, is not more than twenty marine leagues in its greatest length.

I request the Reader to cast his eye on the chart prefixed to *Mearns's* voyages, and to read this note again when he has obtained a knowledge of the voyages of *La Pérouse*, *Duncan*, *Grey*, and others, which are here to be found after the History of the Voyages of the Spaniards.

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pelago fleered towards the east, his Captain BERNARDO proceeded to the northward in this same basin, where he may have found some river, some inlet, some lake, which may have permitted him to push his course towards the north, to a rather considerable distance inland. All that, in these latter times, we have found again of the ancient discoveries the reality of which was denied, because, in denying them, people were exempted from seeking them, the SOLOMON Islands of MENDANA, the SAGITTARIA and other islands of QUIROS, his TIERRA AUSTRAL DEL ESPIRITU SANTO, the SANDWICH Islands, &c. impose on us the obligation of being very reserved in pronouncing that what we have not yet found again does not exist. It cannot be doubted that the Spanish Government know a great deal more respecting the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, than we can divine; but it is no less certain that they are little disposed to permit that what they know of it should be known to other nations*.

The

* Spain has hitherto seemed to affect to consider *Fuente's* narrative as apocryphal, and to confirm the opinion that had prevailed, that his discovery was a fable. We read in a Spanish work, entitled "*Noticia de California*," dedicated to his Catholic Majesty, published under the approbation of the Council of *las Indias*, and with all the requisite Permissions and Examinations (*Madrid*, 1757, 4^o p. 436): "That with respect to the discoveries of *de Fuca* and *de Fontee* (or *Fuente*) every motive of honour and good faith makes it necessary to declare that no reliance ought to be placed on the narrative."

The examination into which I have entered, of the voyage of Admiral FUENTE, has laid me under the necessity of indicating by anticipation, discoveries which belong to very recent periods; but I resume the chronological order of the voyages.

The last expedition of which history has handed down to us the authentic details was, as has been seen, that of VISCAINO in 1602; and I have set forth what might be presumed from that of FUENTE, in 1640. To reckon from the latter, a whole century elapsed without any nation having appeared to concern itself about the west coast of NORTH AMERICA. We must nevertheless conclude that, if SPAIN made no maritime expedition, she neglected not to push by land her discoveries towards the north; but her historians are silent re-

" natives that have announced them to us. If I be now asked," says the author, " what rivers, what lakes, what nations, &c. except what is known by the discoveries of the Russians, are to be found on the coast of *America*, reckoning from *California* and *New Mexico*, towards the north, on a space of *fifty degrees* (a thousand leagues) in latitude, I am not ashamed to answer without any hesitation, and in a single word: *Je ne lo sè*, I don't know, I know nothing of the matter."

The pains taken to accredit this opinion may have been dictated by a policy the system of which is not new: *Spain*, by declaring that she gave no credit to the discoveries of *Fuca* and *Fuente*, wished that other nations might not give credit to them either, and make no attempt to find them again.

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specting the success of these enterprises: we know only that the excursions which she ordered, at different periods, led first to discover, to the eastward of CALIFORNIA, the Provinces of SONORA and CINALOA, the richest portion of that land

*" en malheurs si féconde,
" Qui produit les trésors et les crimes du monde *."*

In the mean time RUSSIA who was endeavouring to extend towards the East the territory already too extensive on which her Czar leant the weight of his dominion, pushed her discoveries on that side as far as the extreme frontier of ASIA, and did not relinquish the hope of one day adding to her vast domains in the Old World some portion of the New Continent. Her hopes did not appear destitute of foundation: her emissaries, her Cossacks could not in the end fail to reach AMERICA, whether the two continents were united to the northward and formed a continued land, or were separated by a Strait: for, in this latter hypothesis, it might be imagined that the two great divisions of the earth came sufficiently near to the dimensions assigned to them by the computations of geographers, for the Strait, if it existed, to present only an inconsiderable space of sea, and such as might be crossed by the craft of the country, espe-

* "So fertile in calamity,
" Which produces the treasures and crimes of the World."

Voltaire. Tragedy of Alzire.

cially with the certainty of meeting, at no great distance, with the western lands of AMERICA.

But, it must be admitted, little hope was entertained, that adventurers, without any knowledge of the art of navigation, and who, being hunters by profession, from time to time tempted fortune at sea, in order to extend their hunting to the islands in the vicinity of KAMTSCHATKA, would be able to procure intelligence which should leave no doubt respecting the relative situation of ASIA and AMERICA: navigating from one island to another, in the basin formed by the north-east coast of the former, and the north-west coast of the latter, it would have been possible that, without suspecting it, they might have landed at some advanced point of the American continent; and that, finding there the same animals which they pursued in the islands, it might not occur to their mind that they had passed from one continent to another. No certain information could therefore be obtained in this respect, but by a concerted expedition which was to be intrusted only to the most experienced seamen. PETER I. to whom the half of a great continent, fallen to his lot, still seemed not sufficient, drew up with his own hand, a little time before his death, the instructions for a voyage whose object, which had occupied him for several years, was to ascertain whether ASIA was separated from AMERICA by a Strait: fully determined, no doubt, not to consider this Strait, if it existed, as a limit

limit which nature had set to his ambition and empire.

But the whole navy of KAMTSCHATKA was not capable of furnishing the ships and men fit for this expedition: it was necessary to give orders beforehand for collecting all the materials requisite for the construction and equipment of the ships, and to send from RUSSIA, Captains, subaltern officers, and seamen. VITUS BEERING, a Dane by birth, and ALEXOI TSCHIRICOW, were chosen to execute this part of the will of PETER THE GREAT, whose last wish more respected than that of our LEWIS THE GREAT, survived a power which was no more, but the remembrance of which still commanded obedience. BEERING was Captain Commandant, or Commodore, in the Russian navy; TSCHIRICOW had the rank of Captain; the Dane, employed for a long time past in the service of the Czar, had given proofs of great ability; the Russian was worthy of being his second.

The two ships destined for the projected expedition, the first that had been constructed at one of the extremities of a land scarcely known, could not be ready to put to sea before the year 1728; and, on the 20th of July, BEERING set sail from the mouth of the KAMTSCHATKA River. He shaped his course towards the north-east, following the direction of the coast of ASIA of which he never lost sight. On the 15th of August, he had,

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had, in the latitude of $67^{\circ} 18'$ north, arrived within sight of a cape to the north, from which the coast trended to the westward. In this first voyage he did not make the coast of AMERICA, but returned to the port whence he had sailed *.

WILLIAM COXE, in his "*Account of the Russian Discoveries*," says that "BEERING, in his voyage from KAMTSCHATKA, in 1728, towards Tschuknotskoi Noss, sailed along the coast of Tschutski as high as latitude $67^{\circ} 18'$, and, observing the coast to take a westerly direction, he too hastily concluded, that he had passed the north-eastern extremity. Apprehensive, if he had attempted to proceed, of being locked in by the ice, he returned to KAMTSCHATKA. If he had followed the shore, he would have found, that what he took for the NORTHERN OCEAN was nothing more than a deep bay †."

Mr. COXE here commits an error which, doubtless, he would have rectified, if, at the time when he wrote (before the year 1780), he could have known the discoveries of Captain Cook in this quarter. The observations of that celebrated navigator have fixed the latitude of the most eastern cape of ASIA in $66^{\circ} 5' \frac{1}{2}$; and if BEERING, in

* See the *Voyages and Discoveries of the Russians*, by Muller, translated from the German. Vol. i. pages 147 and following.

† *Russian Discoveries*, by W. Coxe, London. 1780. 4to. page 323, Note *.

‡ See the *Original Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean*, &c. By W. Bayly. London. 1782. 4to. page 350.

fact,

fact, went as high as $67^{\circ} 18'$ *, he had reached a latitude more northerly by about a degree and a quarter than that of the most eastern part of the Old Continent: he had therefore entered the FROZEN OCEAN: and, without knowing it, he had passed the Strait which separates the two Worlds; the problem was solved. Equitable posterity has imposed on this Strait the name of BEERING'S STRAIT, and its reality has supplied the place of the fable of the STRAIT OF ANIAN.

A second voyage was undertaken, in 1729, by the same navigators; but it yielded no new information.

It was not till the 4th of June 1741 that BEERING and TSCHIRIKOW, for the third time, set sail from KAMTSCHATKA, with the intention, after having got as high as the latitude of 50° north, to direct their course to the east till they met with the continent of AMERICA. But, as early as the 20th of the same month, the ships were separated by a gale of wind; and hazy weather coming on after the storm, did not allow them to rejoin each other.

On the 18th of July, BEERING discovered the continent of AMERICA in the latitude of $58^{\circ} 28'$;

* Reinhold Forster says that "Beering (in his first voyage) navigated the northern coast of Kamtschatka to the 76th degree of north latitude." (*Northern Voyages and Discoveries*, page 481.) I presume that this is an error of the press.

and,

and, according to his reckoning, 50 degrees* east from the meridian of AWATSCHA, at this day called PETROPAWLOWSKA, or ST. PETER and ST. PAUL. On the 20th, he dropped anchor near a somewhat considerable island, not far distant from the continent: and, in this situation, a point of land which projects into the sea, was named Cape ELIAS, from the saint of the day: another cape which was seen in the distance, to the westward of the former, received the name of Cape ST. HERMOGENES. The land appeared to form a large gulf between these two capes. BEERING held intercourse with the natives of the country.

On the 21st, he again put to sea, with the project of getting to the northward, by following the direction of the coast, as far as the latitude of 65°; but the situation of the land which trended to the south-west, was contrary to the course that he intended to hold. He sailed through a string of islands which skirt the great peninsula, known at present by the name of ALASKA: all the month of August was employed in this navigation. On the 29th, he anchored, in 55° 25', in the midst of a group of islands which he named SCHUMAGIN: they are inhabited; and the Russians had a communication with the natives. He struggled against contrary winds till the 24th of September, when he again saw the land to the northward: a moun-

* It is now well known that this difference of longitude is 62 degrees.

INTRODUCTION.

tain rather lofty, situated on the south-west point of the peninsula of ALASKA, towards the latitude of $51^{\circ}30'$, was named Mount St. JOHN. In the course of October, he discovered part of the islands which we know at this day under the name of the ALEUTIAN Isles, and which are situated near the continent of AMERICA.

For some time past, BEERING had been in a state of indisposition and decay which no longer permitted him to concern himself about the management of the ship; and the greater part of the crew were attacked by the scurvy. They sailed on at a venture, till the winds and sea at length carried the ship on an island with the position of which in regard to the two continents they were unacquainted, and on which the vessel was cast away. On the 8th of December, BEERING died on this island, which, very properly, has assumed the name of the first navigator who ventured into these seas, and who discovered the West continent of AMERICA in a latitude which, before him, no known voyager had attained.

Some of the people, those only who were enabled to withstand the severity of the winter and the excess of fatigue and misery, contrived, after infinite trouble, to construct, with the wreck of the vessel, a boat which, in the following year, conveyed them to KAMTSCHATKA.

The island where BEERING's remains repose is situated between the latitude of 55° and 56° , about 50 leagues from the coast of KAMTSCHATKA. The

The voyage of TSCHIRIKOW was less unfortunate than that of his commander; but scarcely did he undergo fewer hardships. After his separation from the commodore's vessel, which he looked for till the 25th of June, finding himself on the parallel of 48° , he directed his course to the east. It appears by the Chart which MULLER has annexed to his *Discoveries of the Russians*, that TSCHIRIKOW who discovered the coast of AMERICA towards the middle of July, made the land there between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth parallels; but others place his land-fall in 58° . The coast which presented itself before him, was steep, barren, guarded by rocks, and without a single island that could afford him shelter. He anchored off the coast, and detached his long-boat with orders to put on shore wherever she could land. Several days elapsed without her re-appearing: he dispatched his other boat to gain tidings of her; but the latter, no doubt, experienced the same fate as the former; and it is unknown what became of either. Some canoes, manned by Americans, presented themselves, a few days after, to reconnoitre the ship; but they durst not approach her, and there remained on board no boat of any sort that could be detached to join or pursue them, and prevail on them to come to the ship where they would have been detained for hostages. TSCHIRIKOW despairing to see again the men whom he had sent on shore, resolved to quit the coast,

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coast, and accordingly returned to KAMTSCHATKA.*

Such was the success of the first expedition of the Russians to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA: the discovery of this part of the New Continent cost the life of the most able of their navigators; but this first voyage, by enlightening them respecting the relative situation of AMERICA and ASIA, opened to them the way to all the discoveries which have successively been made, whether by adventurers, at the expense of the ship-owners and merchants of KAMTSCHATKA, or by officers of the Imperial navy, at the expense of the government: in 1745, by MICHAEL NAVODTSIKOFF; in 1750, by EMILIANUS YAGOFF; from 1753 to 1756, by CHOLODILOFF, SEREBRANIKOFF and JUAN KRASSILNIKOFF; from 1758 to 1760, by DEMETRIUS PAIKOFF, PUSHKAREFF, PETER WASYNTINSKOI and MAXIMUS LASAROFF; in 1762, by DRUSSININ, MEDVEDEFF, KOROVIN, and STEPHEN GLOTOFF; in 1764, by SOLOVIOFF and Lieutenant SYND; in 1766, by ALPHANASSEI OTCHEREDIN; and from 1768 to 1769, by Captain KRENITZIN and Lieutenant LEVASHEFF†. The principal object of all these voyages was the examination of that long archipelago, known under the collective name of the ALEUTIAN or

* See *Muller's Discoveries of the Russians*, vol. i.

† *William Coxe* has published the account of these different voyages in his *Russian Discoveries*.

Fox Islands, which the Russian Charts divide into several archipelagoes under different names; of all the part of the coast which extends east and west under the parallel of 60°, and comprehends a great number of islands situated to the south of the main land, some of which were visited, and others only perceived by BEERING; lastly of the Peninsula of ALASKA, and of the lands situated to the north of this peninsula as far as the 70th degree. It is on these ALEUTIAN Islands, and on upwards of three hundred leagues of coast which extend beyond the Polar Circle, that the indefatigable Russians have formed those numerous settlements, those factories that support the fur-trade from which the Empire of RUSSIA derives such great advantages in its commercial concerns, and exchanges with the empire of CHINA.

I must observe that the French were not entirely strangers to the first discovery which the Russians made of the west coast of NORTH AMERICA. The brother of our celebrated DELISLES, the one an astronomer, the other a geographer, DELISLE DE LA CROYÈRE, was embarked, as a man of science, on board of Tschirikow's ship, as STELLER, a physician by profession and versed in every branch of natural history, was on board that of BEERING. Sickness, which made so many ravages on board Tschirikow's ship, did not spare LA CROYÈRE; his life ended with the expedition. Captain CLERKE who, after the tragical death of

Captain COOKE, in his third voyage, had succeeded him in the chief command of the expedition, discovered, at KAMTSCHATKA, the place of interment of a Frenchman whom a love of the sciences had carried to the eastern extremity of ASIA; and he took a particular interest in distinguishing by an honourable inscription, the forgotten spot of ground where the remains of LA PÉROUSE, reposed so far from his natal land. LA PÉROUSE, during the stay which he made at PETROPAW-LOWSKA, had an opportunity of discharging the debt of the French towards the English nation; Captain CLEAKE who terminated his career, when, after a second run to the northward, he returned a second time to the same harbour, was there interested; time, or the curiosity of the Kamtschadales, had destroyed the inscription borne on his tomb; LA PÉROUSE took every pains to re-establish it, such as it is to be read in the original account of COOK's third voyage; and, in order to prolong its duration, he caused it to be engraved on copper. These mutual attentions of navigators strangers to each other, these acts of friendship and fraternity, may astonish the sedentary and unfeeling inhabitants of our cities, who, never having been tempted to expose themselves to the dangers of the sea, are ignorant with what sentiments the community of such dangers may inspire those who, without being acquainted with each other, know that they have shared them. At KAMTSCHATKA,

at

at seven thousand leagues from EUROPE, all Europeans, and especially European seamen, are countrymen and brothers: and does not the man who, by his discoveries or his labours, has deserved well of mankind, belong, through gratitude, to every nation on earth?

While the Russians, in their numerous excursions, were eager to discover the North part of AMERICA, in the vicinity of their Asiatic domains, with which it was of importance to them to be acquainted, the Spaniards to whom this knowledge was no less important, seemed, for a long time past, not to think of prosecuting their first discoveries. From 1640, that is to say, from the expedition, partly true, partly fabulous, of Admiral DE FUENTE, or rather from 1602, the period of the authentic expedition of VISCAINO, to 1769, the Spanish historians are silent respecting the successive attempts which the Viceroy of MEXICO must have ordered for increasing the territory of SPANISH AMERICA, and pushing their invasions to the northward of CALIFORNIA. It cannot be doubted however, that, during this period of 167 years, the Spaniards have gained ground, foot by foot, in the interior of the country; but it appears that no expedition by sea, undertaken in this view, has deserved that History should transmit us the details or even preserve to us the remembrance of it. It was not till in 1769, that, roused by the discoveries of the Russians whom the allurements of a

milder climate might draw, from the frozen shores of the north, towards the less northerly coasts of AMERICA, and influenced by the fear that some other nation, more enterprising, might be called by trade, and might wish to get a footing in these regions, which, although bordering upon provinces subject to the crown of SPAIN, seemed not to belong to her, the Spanish government at length determined to realize ancient acts of taking possession, though they must have known that, at all times, these sorts of acts were considered by all the powers of the earth, as empty formalities, as frail titles which time has stamped by prescription, they determined to prepare to maintain by force, if circumstances should require it, pretensions which had no foundation but the chance of a first discovery, or at most a plan of occupation, the execution of which had been deferred to an uncertain time to come. Then they recollected that, in 1602, an Admiral VISCAINO had discovered an excellent harbour, situated in $36^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. This position which became intermediate between the strong holds of MEXICO and the limit of the discoveries of the Russians, appeared to deserve that, before they pushed their surveys more to the northward, they should think of making for themselves a point of support, a place of refuge. It was therefore resolved that they should establish a *Presidio* at MONTEREY, formerly discovered by VISCAINO; and that, in proceeding towards

wards this port, they should begin by establishing a first presidio at that of SAN DIEGO, situated in the latitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$, off the Isthmus of CALIFORNIA. But, in projecting a new invasion against the natives of AMERICA, it was absolutely necessary for them to shut their eyes on their own conduct by endeavouring to conceal from themselves the injustice of an usurpation; and the government thought to be justified in the eyes of mankind, and in their own, if they, in some measure, associated the Supreme Being to a project of iniquity: as if the God of peace was the God of conquest and destruction! They talked only of the propagation of the faith, of the conversion of infidels; and religion, which they brought forward, covered, with a respected veil, the real motives and the object of the enterprise: missionary priests were appointed to march with the army, and to establish a mission in every place where it was proposed to establish a presidio; thus, every where, the standard of the usurper was to be planted beside the cross of the christians.

But SPAIN decided, without intending it, a question which her interest, perhaps, would have required that she should leave always undetermined; that of knowing whether the mere discovery of a land, or even the empty formality of an act of taking possession without being followed by the effect, could stand in lieu of a real title of property or of a right of occupation. Had she forgotten that,

that, in 1578, Admiral DRAKE who discovered NEW ALBION, comprising upwards of two hundred leagues of coast, between the latitude of 37° and 48° , had solemnly taken possession of all the country, in the name of Queen ELIZABETH? And if, at this day, ENGLAND proposed to revive this ancient act of taking possession, this pretended property, would not SPAIN think herself justified in maintaining that time had effaced the title of it? But, I ask, is that which SPAIN had for occupying SAN DIEGO, MONTEREY, and the adjacent countries, better preserved, because it is less ancient by eighty years? I am but a historian, and I must leave civilians to decide the question: perhaps, after having consulted the primitive right of every inhabitant of the earth, they would determine, that there has been on the one side, and that there would be on the other, usurpation and abuse of power.

Be this as it may, the project of establishing *presidios* to the north of CALIFORNIA had been conceived by the Spanish government; and the Viceroy of NEW SPAIN, the Marquis DE CROIX, ordered an armament composed of the SAN CARLOS and SANT ANTONIO packets, the one commanded by Don VINCENTE VILA, first pilot of the royal navy; the other, by Don JUAN PEREZ, pilot for the navigation of the PHILIPPINES; and a detachment of troops under the command of Don GABRIEL DE PORTOLA, Governor of the Peninsula of

of CALIFORNIA, was intended to follow the coast by land, while the packets ranged along it by sea. But the Marquis DE CROIX judging that the small number of Europeans which he had at his disposal, would not be sufficient for reducing the nations to the northward of CALIFORNIA, who, no doubt, would take up arms against the *Invaders* of their country, determined, from the example of the conqueror of MEXICO, to oppose one nation of AMERICA to another; and Californians, armed in their manner, were compelled to join the European band, in order to assist in subjecting their countrymen to the foreign yoke which they themselves had borne.

On the 10th of January 1769 *, Don VINCENTE VILA set sail from the harbour of LA PAZ, situated on the west coast of CALIFORNIA, towards the latitude of $24^{\circ} 30'$. The packets had to struggle against the northerly winds which prevail on this coast; and the land-forces experienced the greatest fatigues. It was not till the 29th of April that they were able to reach the harbour of SAN DIE-

* The Spanish account of this voyage was printed at the Printing-Office of the Government of *New Spain*, under the title of *Diario historico de los Viages de Mar y Tierra hechos al Norte de la California* &c. The work is very difficult to be met with in *Spain*; but I have succeeded in procuring from *Madrid*, a manuscript copy which, from its accuracy, is equivalent to the printed account. A more detailed extract from this voyage will be found in the geographical notes which were annexed to the Instructions given to *La Pérouse*.

so, the first where an establishment was to be formed, and they quitted it on the 14th of June following.

The greatest difficulties again opposed their arrival at MONTEREY. Although it is distant from the former only about 72 leagues to the north-west, and although its latitude had been accurately determined in VISCAINO's voyage, an account of which TORQUEMADA had written and published, it was not till after the most laborious researches by sea and by land, that, on the 31st of May 1770, a year after their settling at SAN DIEGO, the Spaniards succeeded in finding again the harbour of MONTEREY on the same parallel as that which was indicated in VISCAINO's narrative*. I cannot avoid remarking that, when in 1786, LA PÉROUSE, on his return from the NORTH-WEST coast, wished to put into this harbour, which, like VICENTE VILA, he knew only by its latitude, he made it with the same precision, and found it with the same facility, as a French ship, coming from the westward, finds the Island of USHANT and the Port of BREST.

We are astonished, in reading the journal of the voyage of the Spaniards, that, in 1770, they were

* Torquemada places this harbour in $36^{\circ} 40'$: the Spaniards, in their voyage in 1769, observed the same latitude; but, in a second voyage, in 1775, they fixed it at $36^{\circ} 44'$. According to the observations made by *La Pérouse*, in 1786, the latitude ought to be $36^{\circ} 38' 25''$, and the longitude, west from the meridian of *Paris*, $124^{\circ} 3'$.

still to learn the situation of a country so near that which they have occupied for three hundred years past : it appears, however, from what is said in the narrative, that both men and things were there equally new to them ; and this observation may lead us to believe that if, in the interval from 1602 to 1769, they have made a progress to the north of MEXICO, in the interior of the country, they have neglected to obtain a knowledge of the coast : it is well known that, in general, it is not in the vicinity of the sea that Nature prepares, by the work of ages, those precious and fatal metals, the search after which could alone excite the efforts and enterprises of a people to whom every mean has appeared legitimate for acquiring the exclusive possession of them. In LA PÉROUSE's journal, the reader may be gratified by the perusal of some interesting details respecting the harbour of MONTEREY, the adjacent country, and the sort of government which the conquerors have there established : it must be said, in praise of the missionary priests, employed for maintaining the conquest of it, that if they make the sanctity of their office bend to serve policy and cupidity, at least they employ themselves with a truly christian zeal in lightening by every consolation that religion can administer, the burden of slavery which must have appeared insupportable to men who enjoyed all the liberty of nature.

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The expedition of 1769, was confined to the second discovery of the harbour of MONTERREY, and to the establishment of a *Presidio*: the discoveries to be made in higher latitudes were deferred to another time. An object more important, and for the execution of which Don JOSEPH GALVEZ had been sent from SPAIN, in the quality of Vicer-General of MEXICO, was to engross all the attention and all the efforts of the government. The Provinces of SONORA and CINALOA, situated to the east of the VERMILION SEA, had been formerly subdued, but had not yet been occupied; and the few forces that were maintained there had, in 1765, induced some neighbouring tribes of Indians to make into them frequent incursions. The Marquis DE CROIX, Viceroy of MEXICO, was desirous of re-establishing tranquillity there; and the means usually adopted by the conquerors of AMERICA were recurred to for that purpose. Five years had already been employed in pursuing the savages over mountains and through defiles almost impracticable; but the question was to possess peaceably the most abundant mines in the New World, and, to effect this, nothing appeared impossible: at length, the expedition was terminated in 1771, by the destruction of those Americans whom their invaders called savages and rebels; and these were still the most fortunate; for slavery bound with her chain all those who survived the invasion of their country*.

* See Robertson's *History of America*, Lib. vii.

The repeated voyages of the English into the GREAT OCEAN, the object or pretext of which, like the first, could no longer be to observe the transit of *Venus*, must naturally have awakened the inquietude of the Cabinet of MADRID, and soon spread among the Spaniards fresh alarm. The government judged that there was no time to be lost in prosecuting discoveries to the north of CALIFORNIA, and forming establishments on the NORTH-WEST coast, or at least announcing that SPAIN had taken possession of it, before the English navigators, following the example of their countryman DRAKE, should come and plant there the flag of GREAT BRITAIN. By these acts of taking possession, illusory as they were, SPAIN prepared the means of defending the country, of gaining time, and of engaging in her cause her allies whom it indirectly concerned, that the English, who already occupy the greater part of the eastern coasts and territory of NORTH AMERICA, should not succeed, in forming in like manner on its western coasts, settlements to which the perseverance of an indefatigable nation, which is never discouraged when its commerce is in question, might, in the sequel, open ready and easy communications with its settlements in the eastern quarter. The English, thus occupying NORTH AMERICA, from east to west, from this position would incessantly have threatened Spanish AMERICA: and, some day, on one of those prettexts which policy always holds in reserve

reserve at the service of ambition, the effect might have followed the threat, before SPAIN could send from EUROPE the forces necessary for defending her possessions beyond the seas.

The expeditions to the northward of CALIFORNIA were therefore resumed by the Spaniards. It appears that a first voyage took place in 1774; but we have no information except of that which was performed in 1775, and in which it was intended to push their discoveries as far as the sixty-fifth parallel, no doubt with a view of reconnoitring all that the voyages of the Russians might have led them to discover in that quarter.

The Honourable DAINES BARRINGTON has translated into English, and printed in his *Miscellanies* *, the account of the voyage which Don ANTONIO MARIA DE BUCARELLI Y URSUA, then Viceroy of MEXICO, ordered, in 1775, for the purpose of accomplishing the object which the government had in view. Mr. BARRINGTON succeeded in procuring from SPAIN a copy of the manuscript journal of Don FRANCISCO ANTONIO MAURELLE, first Pilot on the expedition; but he has not, by any means, been able to get a copy of the chart of the discoveries; from the Spaniards an entire communication is never to be obtained. We have the more to regret this chart, since Cook, LA PÉROUSE, and subsequently to them, several

* London. J. Nichols. 1781. 4to.

navigators

navigators, English, Americans, and French, after having examined the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, have published, without reserve, their observations of every kind, and the general and particular charts of the parts which they have visited. It now remains for us only to acquire minute information, which perhaps we ought never to expect from the Spaniards, but which the navigators of other nations, who shall find means to procure it on the spot, will be eager to communicate to those even that persist in leaving theirs' enveloped in the impenetrable shades of mystery.

Two small vessels, the *Sonora* schooner and a Packet, which were to be employed in this new expedition, were fitted out at the Port of SAN BLAS, situated on the coast of GALICIA; one of the provinces of MEXICO; and the command of it was intrusted to DON JUAN DE AYALA, who had under his orders DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA.

They set sail from SAN BLAS on the 16th of March 1775.

On the 7th of June, in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$, they reconnoitred, at a somewhat considerable distance, a large tract of the coast extending south-east and north-west: this part comprises Cape MENDOCINO.

On the 9th, they anchored in a harbour situated in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 7'$, and $19^{\circ} 4'$ west from SAN BLAS; and they imposed on it the name of PUERTO

DE LA TRINIDAD: the Pilot MAURELLE highly extols the country and its inhabitants.

On the 19th of June, they took up their anchors, and sailed from this harbour with a gentle breeze at north-west.

On the 9th of July, they reckoned themselves in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 40'$; and they had indications of the vicinity of land.

On the 11th, it was perceived at the distance of twelve leagues; and on the 12th in the evening, they were not more than a league from the coast, when they distinguished various headlands, several illots, and mountains covered with snow: they likewise remarked a small barren island, about half a league in circumference, which they called ISLA DE LOS DOLORES. The latitude was $47^{\circ} 39'$.

On the 13th, the schooner anchored about two leagues and a half from the coast, in $47^{\circ} 28'$; and, after getting under way to join her consort, she anchored a second time, with the packet in company, in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 21'$: here the Spaniards being desirous of procuring a supply of wood and water, sent a boat on shore for that purpose, with a detachment of picked men well armed. The party had scarcely landed when the Indians to the number of three hundred, rushed out from the mountains, and surrounding them immediately,

* This part of the coast corresponds, as to the latitude, with that which on Meares's chart is called *Shoal-water Bay*.

cut them off, without there being a possibility of their comrades affording them any assistance.

On the 14th of July, they sailed from this road-head with the wind at north-west and north-north-west, by which they left the coast steering to the south-east.

On the 1st of August, the weather was so thick as to oblige them to stand off from the coast; the wind was at north-west and north.

On the 5th, the wind veered to the south-west.

On the 13th, they had many signs of the vicinity of land; and, during the 4th and 15th, these signs increased, when they found themselves in $56^{\circ} 18'$ north latitude, and 154 Spanish leagues (of $17\frac{1}{2}$ to a degree) west of the continent, and 69 leagues from an island, which, according to the journal, must be the most western part of an archipelago situated in the same parallel, and was laid down on the manuscript chart that the Spaniards made use of for regulating their course: it would thence result that this island must be distant from the continent, 94 Spanish leagues, or about 107 marine leagues of 20 to a degree. I know not what this island was, of which the Spaniards had a certain knowledge since it was laid down on their chart, and since MAURELLE, in speaking of its distance from the continent, does not say that its existence was doubtful: no track of the navigators of these latter times passes at so great a distance from the continent in the parallel

of 56° . As to this archipelago situated in the same latitude, of which, by MAURELLE's account, this island forms the most western part, LA PÉROUSE, in fact, discovered an archipelago which he has distinguished by the name of Islands or Archipelago of the SPANIARDS, and which extends from the 55th to the 56th parallel; and it might be supposed that this is the one with which the Spaniards were acquainted, and which was delineated on their chart; but this archipelago is not distant from the continent 107 leagues, 12 or 15 miles only being its greatest distance.

On the 15th of August, the Spanish navigators again saw the land to the north-west, and it soon afterwards opened to the north-east, presenting considerable headlands and mountains, one of which was of an immense height, being situated on a projecting cape of the most regular and beautiful form that was ever seen. It was also quite detached from the great ridge of mountains. Its top was covered with snow, under which appeared some wide gullies, which continued till about the middle of the mountain, and thence to the bottom were trees of the same kind (pines) as those at PUERTO DE LA TRINIDAD. This mountain was named MONTE SAN JACINTO, and the cape, CAPO DEL ENGAÑO: the latter is situated in the latitude of $57^{\circ} 2'$ north, and longitude $34^{\circ} 10'$ west, from the meridian of SAN BLAS.

On the 17th, the wind blew moderate from the south, by means of which they entered a bay that was three leagues wide at its mouth, and was protected from the north by Cape DEL ENGAÑO; on the opposite side to this cape, they discovered a port more than a league wide at the entrance, perfectly secure from all winds, but the south: they nearly approached the sides of the bay, and never found less than fifty fathoms in depth; but they could not perceive any kind of flat or plain, as the mountains come quite down to the shore. Notwithstanding this, they distinguished a small river; but it was night: they cast anchor in sixty-six fathoms over a clayey bottom.

This port lies in $57^{\circ} 11'$ north latitude, and $34^{\circ} 12'$ west longitude from SAN BLAS. They named it BAYA DE GUADALUPA.

On the 18th, AYALA sailed again with the wind at north-west, and the next morning he entered another port into which a river empties itself; here he anchored, in eighteen fathoms, with a sandy bottom, within pistol shot of the shore: this harbour, which was named PUERTO DE LOS REMEDIOS, was found to be situated in $57^{\circ} 18'$ north latitude, and $34^{\circ} 12'$ west longitude from SAN BLAS. Here too the Spaniards had an intercourse with the natives of the coast, procured wood and water, and took possession of the country, with the accustomed ceremonial.

AYALA then went as far as the parallel of 58° , without making any discovery. Having reached this latitude, which exceeds the limit of the most northern ancient discoveries, he remained persuaded that the *Inlets* or *Straits* indicated by the ancient navigators are not to be found. But if MAURELLE, in committing this opinion to his journal, copies of which the Spanish Government suffered to be circulated, has not obeyed an order that may have enjoined him to be silent respecting what had been discovered; if this has not been an ingenious manner of diverting other nations from the project of attempting discoveries in this quarter; if such, in short, was the real opinion of the Spaniards intrusted with the direction of the voyage, the persuasion in which they have remained cannot weaken the testimony of the more modern navigators who have justified FUCA and FUENTE, and attest the reality of the parts of their discoveries, which have not been altered, and perhaps designedly, by romantic additions: but it will remain proved that AYALA, in ascending the NORTH-WEST coast from the PUERTO DE LA TRINIDAD to the parallel of 58 degrees, contented himself most frequently with reconnoitring the land at a distance.

The fifty-eighth parallel was, no doubt, the boundary which the Spaniards had fixed to their voyage, although their instructions may have limited

mitted it only to the sixty-fifth; for scarcely had they reached the latitude of 58° , when we see them run back to the southward, with the intention of gaining the harbour of MONTEREY: however, they made some discoveries which chance threw in their way.

On the 24th of August, in the latitude of $55^{\circ} 17'$, and $32^{\circ} 9'$ to the west of SAN BLAS, the Spanish navigators anchored in a large bay, where an arm of the sea presents a spacious harbour, which, in honour of the Viceroy, was named PUERTO BUCARELLI: this harbour, which appears formed by several islands, must be the southern part of that archipelago detached from the continent, which the Spaniards knew by their chart, which they had not been able to find in ascending the coast, and of which, in running back, they reconnoitred only the lower extremity, but which LA PÉROUSE, who ranged along it from north to south, named, out of respect for an ancient discovery the period and author of which were unknown to him, LES ILES DES ESPAGNOLS. An island of moderate height which they saw in the south, at the distance of six leagues, received the name of ISLA DE SAN CARLOS. Here DON JUAN DE AYALA took possession, in the name of HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY, of the country which he saw and of all that which he did not see: this was taking possession of a desert which no one disputed with him; for, from the remains of a de-

stroyed hut, and some paths here and there, it was pretty evident that individuals of the human species had formerly inhabited this spot; but, during the whole time that the Spaniards staid in the harbour, not a single Indian made his appearance.

On quitting Port BUCARELLI, on the 29th of August, the Spaniards came to an anchor in twenty-two fathoms, about two leagues from the Island of SAN CARLOS; and in this situation they observed, at the distance of four or five leagues, a cape, situated in the latitude of 55° , to which they gave the name of CAPO SANT AGUSTIN.

From this cape, the coast trended to the east so much that they lost sight of it entirely. They also found that such violent currents acted here in different directions, that it was not possible to sound: "and as these currents," says the journalist, "rose and fell with the tide," it should seem that this *Inlet* has no communication but with the sea, or the GREAT BOREAL OCEAN on which they were sailing. Thus they were persuaded that this land which extended so far to the eastward, formed the northern coast of the entrance of a river, the south side of which, however, they did not perceive; and in this supposition, they did not endeavour to clear up the matter.

The season was not yet advanced; favourable winds might be hoped for; and the Spaniards feeling, perhaps, a sort of shame at having stopped short

short of the boundary which their instructions had fixed, seemed for a moment to resume courage, and determined again to attempt getting to the northward.

On the 28th of August, they availed themselves of variable winds for approaching the coast in the latitude of $55^{\circ} 50'$: they were not near enough to perceive it; but in this parallel, they found, according to their wishes, winds from the south-west and south quarters.

On the 1st of September, they had got as high as the latitude of $56^{\circ} 50'$; but, on the 7th, the northerly winds having resumed their ascendancy, and the crews of both vessels being exhausted by fatigue, AYALA relinquished every idea of prosecuting his discoveries to the northward, and directed his course for regaining the port whence he had sailed. However, he endeavoured to fall in again with the coast in order to reconnoitre some points; but he still ran down upwards of three degrees of latitude without approaching near enough to discover it, and he did not put himself in a situation to perceive it till he was in $53^{\circ} 54'$, and at the distance of eight or nine leagues from the land: "But as we wished," says the journalist, "not to approach so near as not to be able to leave it, on account of our having so few hands capable of doing duty, we kept at a proper distance, only having a view of it from day to day, and not examining its capes, bays, and ports."

“ports. In latitude 49° , however,” continues he, “we endeavoured to draw nearer to the land “because we were persuaded that the wind would “continue favourable, and that some of the convalescents might now begin to assist us; so that, “in latitude $47^{\circ} 3'$, we were not farther distant “than a mile, when we attended to all proper “particulars as before:” that is, they took bearings of the different points of the land which were to fix their relative positions on the chart that he was charged to construct: but the journal enters into no detail respecting what AYALA may have discovered in this latitude; and the chart has not been published.

The Spanish navigators again lost sight of the land; but discovered it on the 24th, in $45^{\circ} 27'$, and sailed along the coast within cannon-shot; “and as we therefore could distinctly see every “considerable object,” says the pilot MAURELLE, “we lay to during the night, hoping thus to find “the river or INLET of MARTIN AGUILAR, and “continued this search till we were in latitude $45^{\circ} 50'$, when we distinguished a cape exactly resembling a round table, with some red gullies, “from which the coast trends to the south-west. “From this part rise ten small islands, and some “others which are almost even with the water’s “edge; the latitude of this cape (which was called “CAPO MESARI) has before been mentioned, “and its longitude is $20^{\circ} 4'$ west from SAN BLAS.

“As

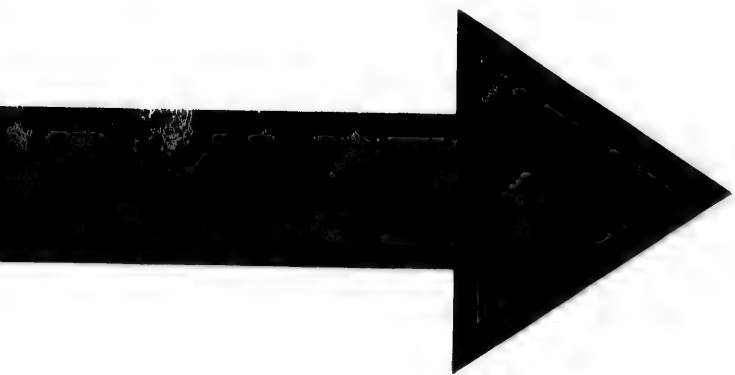
"As we therefore could see nothing of MARTIN DE AGUILAR's river in this second trial," adds MAURELLE, "we conclude that it is not to be found, for we must have discovered it, if any such river was on this part of the coast." It is difficult to conceive how MAURELLE could look for this river or inlet in the vicinity of $45^{\circ} 50'$ of latitude, since he knew by the account which TORQUEMADA has given of the voyage of VISCAINO, that it must be situated towards 43° degrees*, and that the Spanish Charts which place it more to the northward, do not carry it beyond 44° ; for, undoubtedly, we shall not believe, with the Spanish pilot, that it is probable that AGUILAR may have committed respecting this latitude, an error of two or three degrees, an error which the imperfection of the instruments in use at the time when he observed, could not excuse, since the latitudes given by the navigators contemporaries of VISCAINO† and AGUILAR, and even by the more ancient voyagers, such as DRAKE, CAVENDISH, OLIVIER VAN-NOORT, SPILBERGEN, LE MAIRE and SCHOUTEN, are never in error *half a degree*, when they have had an opportunity of observing them.

* See farther back, page xviii.

† It has been seen that the latitude which *Viscaino* assigned to his harbour of *Monterey*, differed from the true latitude, only by about two minutes. (Farther back, page lx. Note *.)

After





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After a useless search for AQUILAR's River or INLET at the place where it was not to be found, AYALA endeavoured to find a harbour which the Journal distinguishes by the name of PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO, and which is, in fact, the harbour of FRANCISCO, but of FRANCISCO DRAKE or Sir FRANCIS DRAKE. The name of the Ensign LA BODEGA was, unblushingly, substituted to that of Admiral DRAKE, and even to that of St. FRANCIS. Mr. DAINES BARRINGTON justly reproaches the Spaniards with having thought religion interested in suppressing the name of the *brave heretic*, who, having sailed from a port in ENGLAND had ascended the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA to a latitude which, before him, no Spanish navigator had attempted to reach: but we may imagine that national vanity had a greater share than piety, in the substitution of a name which the impartial geographer will not allow himself to adopt. The pilot MAURELLE places Sir FRANCIS DRAKE's harbour in the latitude of $38^{\circ} 18'$; the English Admiral had indicated it in $38^{\circ} 30'$, and an error of 12 minutes is not a considerable one for the time when he observed, and for the instruments which he could employ in his observations: I shall add that this error which

* *Maurelle* says that the *History of California* places this harbour in $38^{\circ} 41'$. It seems to me that it was rather in *Drake's voyage* that he ought to have looked for this latitude; and *Fletcher* in the *original narrative*, makes it $38^{\circ} 30'$.

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is only a fifth of a degree, could not prevent the Spaniards from recognising the identity of **SAN FRANCISCO DRAKE'S HARBOUR, PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO** and **PUERTO DE LA BODEGA**: and if the small difference between the latitudes could have left them the slightest doubt, the sight of the country and of its inhabitants, such as **DRAKE** has described them, such as the Spaniards have found them again, must be sufficient to dispel every uncertainty.

Admiral DRAKE had neglected to impose names on the two points or capes which form the entrance of his harbour: the Spaniards have repaired this forgetfulness; the north cape was named **PUNTA DE LAS ARENAS** (Sandy Point) and the south cape, **CAPO DEL CORDON** (Girdle Cape): this latter denomination might be a sort of restitution made to **ST. FRANCIS** whom they had stripped of his harbour; for it is well known that, in both Old and New **SPAIN**, the girdle of **ST. FRANCIS** is one of the objects recommended to the veneration, I had almost said to the worship, of the faithful.

The Spaniards quitted **DRAKE'S** Harbour on the 4th of October: on the 7th, they anchored in that of **MONTEREY**; here they remained to recover their sick till the 4th of November, when they again put to sea, and, on the 29th, they re-entered the Port of **SAN BLAS**, whence they had sailed two hundred and sixty days before.

This

This voyage of 1775 had been more fortunate, and more useful to the progress of geography, than that of 1770, the greatest success of which, after a year's researches, had been limited to finding again the harbour of MONTEREY: that of 1775 has made known the harbour of TRINIDAD, in latitude $41^{\circ} 7'$; Cape MESARI, in $45^{\circ} 50'$; Cape SANT AGUSTIN, in 55° ; Port BUCARELLI, in $55^{\circ} 17'$; Mount SAN JACINTO and Cape DEL ENGANO, in $57^{\circ} 2'$; GUADALUPA Bay, in $57^{\circ} 11'$ in its north part; the harbour of LOS REMEDIOS, in $57^{\circ} 18'$; and they again found Sir FRANCIS DRAKE's Harbour, the latitude of which they fixed at $38^{\circ} 18'$.

But, admitting that this last voyage has more advanced the discovery of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA than that of 1770, we are forced to confess that, if other navigators of these latter times had conducted their researches with the prudence and circumspection which the Spaniards employed in theirs, our knowledge would not thence have received a great increase. When a coast is to be examined, it is not by not approaching so near as not to be able to leave it, and by keeping at a proper distance, and only having a view of it from day to day, that a navigator can hope to discover inlets, channels, bays, &c. It is well known that, at a certain distance, all the irregularities must be confounded with the continuation of the coast, and be lost, to the eye, on the back-ground of the high

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high lands by which they are commanded. But if, on the one hand, we perceive, in perusing MAURELLE's journal, that AYALA seemed in some measure to be afraid of finding what he was looking for; on the other, we are frequently tempted to suspect that, if his researches led him to find again the discoveries of which he had the indications, he has thought that it was prudent not to remove the veil which covers them. Unskilfulness, timidity, concealment: whatever may be the cause, no matter; for to us the effect is the same*.

It

* If we wish to be convinced that too severe a judgment has not been formed of this voyage of the Spaniards, it is sufficient to follow Don *Ayala* in his navigation, when he ascends the coast, and afterwards when he runs it down: it will be seen that, in both routes, he was not employed in seeking the ancient discoveries of which he had the indications.

On the 9th of June, he discovered the harbour of *Trinidad*, in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 7'$.

Upwards of a month after, on the 11th of July, in $47^{\circ} 39'$, he at length got near enough to see the land, but at the distance of twelve leagues: he perceived capes, islets, mountains covered with snow; and the only discovery he made, was a small barren island which he names *Isla de las Dolores*.

On the 13th of the same month, he anchors on the coast, in $47^{\circ} 21'$, and has a conflict with the natives.

On the 5th of August, in $56^{\circ} 8'$, he has some indications of land.

On the 16th, he is in sight of the land, and discovers in $57^{\circ} 2'$ Mount *San Jacinto*, Cape *Del Engano*, and *Guadalupe Bay*, nearly in the same parallel.

Thus, between $47^{\circ} 40'$ and 57° , that is to say, on a space which occupies $9^{\circ} 20'$, or upwards of 186 leagues in latitude, he has no view of the land.

In

It appears that the opinion which the Spaniards had formed of the voyage of 1775, was not so disad-

In $57^{\circ} 18'$, he discovers the harbour of *Los Remedios*, and thence, *without seeing the coast*, he gets as high as the 58th parallel, the limit of his navigation towards the north.

Let us now examine his route from south to north, in running down the coast.

On the 24th of August, in $55^{\circ} 17'$, he discovers *Puerto Bucarrelli*; but the *Archipelago of the Spaniards* (thus named by *La Pérouse*) between 56° and 55° of which this harbour occupies the southern part, was not perceived.

During the same time, he sees at a distance *Cape Sant Agustin*, in latitude 55° .

In $53^{\circ} 54'$, he gets sight of the land, but he sails constantly *wide of it eight or nine leagues*, and contents himself with perceiving it at this distance.

It is only in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 3'$ that he stands in for the coast, and examines it minutely, at the distance of a mile, *but the Journal makes no mention of what was discovered in this parallel.*

Presently he again loses sight of the coast, and approaches it again only in $45^{\circ} 27'$, in order to make, in the vicinity of this parallel, a useless search after *Aguilar's Lake*, which the accounts indicate in 45° &c. &c.

Thus, the interval comprised between the 55th and the 47th parallels, was not examined more in running down the coast, than it had been in ascending it.

It is, however, between these two parallels that were indicated the discoveries of *Fuente* and those of *Fuera*: and if *Agate*, favoured by the North winds, as he was constantly on his return from the northern parts, had employed a little perseverance in seeking for the ancient discoveries of his nation, it is probable that he would not have left to others the merit of finding them again.

In fact, if, in leaving his *Cape Sant Agustin*, he had followed this long coast which tended to the east, it would have led him into the channel that separates from the continent a group

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disadvantageous as that which must have been given us of it by the journal of ANTONIO MAURELLE; for

of large islands which *La Pérouse*, in 1786, discovered, towards the offing, and which Captain *Dixon* who visited them on the same side, the following year, has named *Queen Charlotte's Islands*: in ranging along the coast of the continent, he would have met with *Fuente's* Archipelago of *San Lázaro*, found again by *La Pérouse*, and visited subsequently by the English and the Americans belonging to the United States, which the account of the Spanish admiral indicated between the latitude of 53° and 52° lower down, he would have met with *Nooth's* Sound which *Cook* discovered in 1778, in $49^{\circ} 36'$ lower still, in the vicinity of the 48th parallel, he would have found again *Fuca's* Inlet which has not escaped the researches of the English navigators.

On the other hand, if, when, in the latitude of about 54° , he perceived a land, which is the north-west part of *Queen Charlotte's* Islands, instead of keeping constantly at eight or nine leagues' distance from it, he had approached it, and had examined it as closely as the northerly wind enabled him, by ranging along it, he would have arrived at the southern extremity of the group: then hauling to the eastward between 52° and 53° , in order to fetch the continent, as *La Pérouse* did, he would also, by this other route, have found again the Archipelago of *San Lázaro*; and in running down the coast, discovered *Nooth's*, and lower, *Fuca's* Inlet.

I shall add that if, conformably to his instructions, he had had the perseverance, during the month of August, to push his researches as far as the 65th parallel, perhaps he would have anticipated Captain *Cook* in the survey of *Prince William's* Sound, *Cook's* River, the Peninsula of *Alaska*, the long chain of the *Alutian* Islands &c. discovered more anciently by the Russians, who, in this part of *North America* (the extension of the Spanish possessions) have found means to form settlements, either fixed or temporary, calculated for facilitating their great fur-trade with the Empire of *China*.

the Viceroy BUCARELLI, satisfied, no doubt, with the success of this expedition, employed himself, as early as 1777, about a new voyage the project of which was not realized till 1779, and in which he purposed to cause the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA to be examined, beginning from the 58th degree of latitude, and ascending as far as the *seventieth*. If the researches were to begin only in 58°, it is that probably the Viceroy was convinced that, below this parallel, the labours of AYALA, seconded by his pilot MAURELLE, who, in the voyage of 1775, had gone as high as that latitude, could have left nothing to do for the sequel between the two extreme parallels which his course had embraced. It may be supposed that Don ANTONIO MARIA BUCARELLI Y URSUA was ignorant that, as far back as 1778, this survey had been made by an Englishman, JAMES COOK, whose discoveries, on his return, had been published without reserve: for if, as we are authorized to think, the object of the viceroy was only to cause the ships of his Catholic Majesty to take another view, by the way, of some capes on the NORTH-WEST coast, and to cause them to anchor in some harbour, in order to insure to SPAIN the exclusive possession of that immense coast, the knowledge of the prior voyage of Captain COOK might have given him the rather well-founded apprehension, that the English, who had over the Spaniards the priority of discovery, would also some day claim the priority of possession:

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inde bellum. Be this as it may, he ordered two frigates, the *Princesa* and the *Querida* to be equipped in the Port of SAN BLAS: the command of the expedition was intrusted to Don IONACIO ARTEAGA; and the second frigate was commanded by Don JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA, who had been employed under the orders of AYALA in the voyage of 1775, and who took for his second captain Don FRANCISCO ANTONIO MAURELLE, then Ensign of a frigate, who has written the account of this new voyage, as he had written that of the preceding *.

To preserve chronological order, I ought to have placed this voyage of 1779 before that of Captain Cook, to whom EUROPE owes the real discovery of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA in 1778; but the order of time may give way for a moment to historical connexion which will be the more striking, if the reader have perused successively all the expeditions which were made about the same time from the ports of the coast of MEXICO situated on the GREAT OCEAN.

* I have taken the following extract of the voyage of 1779, from a Spanish manuscript, the work of *Mauralle*, which *La Pérouse* procured at *Manilla*, and which he annexed to a part of his own journal and to his dispatches dated from *Awaiyha* (*St. Peter and St. Paul of Kamtschatka*) September 1787. His packets were brought to France by young *Lesfepé*, employed in the expedition, in the capacity of interpreter for the Russian language, who performed the journey by land from *Awaiyha* to *Paris*.

ARTEAGA, set sail on the 11th of February 1779, from the port of SAN BLAS, in the latitude of 22° north.

MAURELLE's journal contains no particular worthy of being remarked till the 3d of May, when the two frigates anchored in the harbour or rather in the vast Bay of BUCARELLI, in latitude $55^{\circ} 17'$, which had been discovered by AYALA in the voyage of 1775*.

The Commandant caused a complete survey to be made of this sort of gulf, which runs upwards of eight leagues inland, contains several large islands, and presents on its circumference eleven fine harbours where ships may anchor with safety: MAURELLE says that he does not know a single port in all EUROPE that could be preferred to that of SANTA CRUZ, in which the frigates anchored: it is situated at the entrance of the gulf on its east coast.

The Spaniards had a communication and traded with the inhabitants, of which the Journal gives a somewhat particular description †, whence it may be conceived that these Americans differ little, in their person, their dress, their manners, and their customs, from those of the other parts of the

* See farther back, page lxxi. The entrance of this bay is situated, according to the determinations of *La Pérouse*, in about $136^{\circ} 15'$ west from *Paris*; and the latitude of the entrance is, according to the plan of the Spaniards, $55^{\circ} 15'$.

† It has been seen that, in the voyage of 1775, the Spaniards had not perceived any inhabitant in Port *Bucarelli*. (Farther back, page lxxi.)

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coast, with whom the accounts of the English voyages have brought us acquainted.

On quitting the Port of SANTA CRUZ, on the 15th of June, ARTEAGA gained that of SANT ANTONIO situated on the west coast of the entrance of the gulf, to the north-west of the former; and, on the 1st of July, he set sail in order to proceed to the northern parts of the coast.

On the 16th, he got sight of BEERING'S Mount ST. ELIAS, which he reckoned to be situated in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 53'$, and which Captain COOK places in $60^{\circ} 27'$.

On the 18th, he discovered a gulf ten leagues in depth, to the westward of Cape ST. ELIAS †.

While the Spaniards were employed in making a survey of this gulf, some American Indians, who

* It appears, from what is said in the Journal, that the Spaniards steered by a Chart of the French hydrographer *Bellin*, published in 1766, under the title of *Carte réduite de L'OCEAN SEPTENTRIONAL compris entre L'ASIE et L'AMERIQUE, suivant les découvertes faites par les Russes*, and which makes a part of the 2nd volume of the *Hydrographie Française*, under the No. 99. This chart is defective in every point: it is a caricature, such as might have been made in placing and delineating the northern coasts of *America* and *Asia* according to the voyages of the Russians, the accounts of which had been published by *Müller*. It may be said that this is a *Coffach* chart, the first adventurers who, under the direction of *Beering*, discovered the north-west coast of *America*; but it is not proved that the voyage of 1779 might have given us one more exact. (See farther on, page 20 at the end of the Note *.)

† This must be *Prince William's Sound*, discovered the preceding year by Captain *Cook*, and before by the Russians.

had come in canoes, prevailed on them to anchor in a small harbour situated in the latitude of $60^{\circ} 13'$, to which ARTEAGA gave the name of Port DE SAINT YAGO*. The structure of the canoes was remarkable: it consisted of a frame, somewhat similar to that of our European boats, and simply covered with skins which answer the purpose of planks. It is seen in the accounts of the more recent voyages, that canoes of this sort are peculiar to the northern parts of the coast. The arrows of the natives of Port SAINT YAGO are armed with points of copper; and the Spaniards were persuaded that the land of AMERICA, in these high latitudes, must contain mines of this metal. This opinion is not void of foundation; for we see that in EUROPE, in a latitude little different, SWEDEN possesses mines as rich from the abundance as from the excellent quality of the copper.

ARTEAGA quitted Port SAINT YAGO on the 28th of July, in order to proceed to a point of land which he discovered at eleven leagues' distance to the south-west a few degrees south of his anchor-age†. His intention was to keep in sight of the land; but the mist and the rain did not allow him to distinguish it.

* This, to judge from its latitude, must be the small harbour situated to the northward of Cook's Cape Hinckinsbrook.

† This Point could be no other than one of those of Cook's Montagu Islands.

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On the 31st, after having continued lying to during the two preceding days, he discovered, at a small distance from the frigates, a group of islands extending from south-south-west to south-south-east. He came to an anchor, on the 1st of August, to the southward of one of these islands, which the journal places in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 8'$, by observation: it was found inhabited, and received the name of ISLA DE REGLA *. From the anchorage was discovered, when the weather was clear, to the north-west 70° west, and at the distance of upwards of twenty leagues, a volcano mountain, which was supposed to be loftier than the Peak of TENERIFFE, and which was entirely covered with snow: near this, to the west-north-west 8° west, and at fifteen leagues' distance, was remarked another of great elevation, on which was seen no snow; and to the west-south-west, thirteen leagues off, two others on which the snow was still remaining †.

It is mentioned in MAURELLE's journal, that, from Cape ST. ELIAS as far as the Island of REGLA,

* According to the latitude observed by *Maurelle*, these islands must be the group of *Cook's* *Barren Islands*, situated at the entrance of *Cook's* River, between Cape *Ekudnah* and *Point Banks*.

† This volcano mountain and the other mountains situated in the same quarter, are the volcano and the mountains which are laid down on *Cook's* Chart, on the west coast of the entrance of *Cook's* River. (See his 3d voyage, Plate 44. vol. ii. page 353.)

he took, with the most scrupulous exactness, bearings of the islands, capes, bays, &c. which the frigates might have seen; but that too frequently contrary winds, and currents almost habitual and only variable in their direction, drove them off the coast, and did not permit them to *calculate* the route with precision*: which did not prevent MAURELLE from constructing an *accurate* Chart of the part of the coast comprised between Cape ST. ELIAS and the Island of REGLA.

It is at this Island of REGLA, in the latitude of *fifty nine* degrees, that the Spaniards terminated the grand expedition of 1779, in which they were to push their discoveries to the northward as far as the *seventieth* parallel. They quitted it on the 7th of August; and on the 27th of September, the two frigates were moored in the Port of SAN BLAS, whence they had sailed seven months and a half before, and where they might have remained, without our knowledge in geography having sustained any loss by their inaction. If the notions which the Spaniards may have acquired in this respect, are not more extensive than those which we have been permitted to gather from an undigested and mutilated journal, it may be said

* We see that, in 1779, the Spaniards were still reduced to trust to the dead reckoning, and already for ten years past, the French and the English determined the longitudes at sea, either by the help of astronomical clocks or time-keepers, or by the observation of the moon's distance from the sun and stars!

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that, in this voyage, as in several others, they have consumed much time and been at a great expense, in order to perform very little work; but if they meant only to appear to say something, only to persuade other nations that they had said every thing, their concealment will not attain its end; and a day will come when others will be able to inform them, and perhaps better than they know it, of what they now take so much pains to conceal*.

Fortu-

* I extract from a letter which *La Pérouse* wrote me from *Awaika* on the 10th of September 1787, what he mentioned to me on the subject of the expedition of the Spaniards in 1779; it will there be seen what opinion he had of this voyage, and of the chart which had been constructed of the part of the coast which *Arteaga* had examined: this is the opinion which he had imbibed at *Manilla* in his conversations with the Spanish officers.

"I procured at *Manilla*," says he, "the Journal of the voyage which the Spanish Pilot, the famous Don *Francisco Antonio Maurelle*, made, in that capacity, to the north-west coast of *America*. Thus, by adding this journal to that of the first voyage of the Spaniards to that quarter, which Mr. *Barrington* has published in his *Miscellanies*, and an extract of which is translated in the notes that you had the goodness to collect for my instruction, we shall have all *Maurelle's Secrets*. I left that navigator at *Manilla*, commanding one of the ships of the new company destined to make a coasting voyage from *Cavita* to *Canton*. I send you a very minute plan of Port *Bucarelli* and of the neighbouring islands, which I obtained at *Manilla**. The Spaniards in their second voyage (that of 1779) penetrated as far as *Prince William's*

* This Plan will be inserted in the *Atlas* which is to accompany the account of *La Pérouse's* voyage.

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Fortunately, we are come to the period when other nations lay hold of the discoveries to be made on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; and we have now only to consult journals in which the veracity of the historian equals the skill of the navigator.

The inutility of the attempts repeated, for upwards of two centuries past, by the Dutch, the Danes, and particularly the English, for finding on the side of EUROPE, by the NORTH-EAST, and on the side of AMERICA, by the NORTH-WEST, a passage into the seas of ASIA, and a shorter route than that of the Cape of GOOD HOPE, or that of Cape HORN, has not hitherto been able to make the British nation abandon the hope of one day seeing realized a project to which, at all times, it attached the highest importance: and it was for the purpose of renewing these attempts, that, in 1773, Captain PHIPPS, the late Lord MULGRAVE, was sent with two ships to SPITZBERGEN, in order to examine the part of the FROZEN ARCTIC OCEAN comprised between that island and AMERICA; but the ice opposed all examination in the

"Sound, and thinking themselves on the coast of *Kamtschatka*,
 "they were, every instant, afraid of being attacked by the
 "Russians. I will not send you their *general Chart*, because,
 "in fact, it would rather do more harm than good to the progress
 "of geography. Was it their intention to deceive us? Or
 "rather, have they not deceived themselves? Be this as it
 "may, they saw the land only near Port *Bucarelli*, and at
 "the entrance of *Prince William's Sound*."

vicinity

vicinity of the 81st parallel, which it did not permit him to reach ; he was stopped, on the 27th of July, in the latitude of $80^{\circ} 48'$. It was known, on the other hand that, as far back as the year 1540, SPAIN had caused different parts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA to be visited, in order to ascertain whether it would not be possible by the west, to discover, across the northern parts of that continent, some passage which might have escaped the researches made, on the east side, by HUDSON's Bay and that of BAFFIN. It was known too that, from 1728, RUSSIA had, in the same view, directed several expeditions, from KAMTSCHATKA towards the parts of WEST AMERICA the highest in latitude. But it was permitted to suppose that CORONADO, CABRILLO, FUCA, VISCAINO, AGUILAR, and Admiral DE FUENTE, dispatched by the governors of MEXICO and the adventurers and Cossacks, encouraged by RUSSIA, had neither the knowledge nor the experience that could insure the success of such a research, and fix an opinion respecting what it was thence allowable to hope. Besides, the accounts of the Russians were very imperfect and destitute of observations ; and those of the Spaniards, in which, as I have said, truth, most frequently, is blended with fiction, could not inspire any confidence : even some of the latter were reputed apochryphal.

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In this state of uncertainty, which SPAIN alone perhaps did not share, if, as may be believed, she has made, at different times, expeditions of which we have no knowledge, in this state, I say, the British government who, for some years past, had dispatched several ships to visit minutely the GREAT OCEAN between AMERICA and ASIA, till then very imperfectly known, judged that Captain Cook, already deservedly celebrated by two voyages round the world by two different routes, and by a navigation through the ice of the Austral pole, which no navigator before him had attempted to approach, might employ, with success, on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, and in the vicinity of the Arctic Circle, those superior talents, that indefatigable activity, that unexampled perseverance of which he had given such distinguished and repeated proofs, in the survey which he had made of the east coast of NEW HOLLAND, till then unknown, of the two Islands of NEW ZEALAND, of which, in 1643, ABEL TASMAN had discovered but a small portion; of NEW CALEDONIA, of the existence of which we were ignorant, of QUIROS's TERRA AUSTRALIS DEL ESPIRITU SANTO, which BOUGAINVILLE had found again in 1768, and the discovery of which Cook completed; and in his search of a Southern Continent, where he seemed to become greater in proportion as difficulties and dangers of every kind appeared to increase and multiply around him.

Cook

COOK was therefore destined, in 1776, to go, with two ships one of which was commanded by Captain CLERKE, to solve the grand and endless question of the NORTH-WEST Passage. But he began by accomplishing other objects of his Instructions, and did not reach the west coast of NORTH AMERICA till the beginning of March 1778*: and wishing, in some measure, to revive the ancient title of property, or rather the pretension of GREAT BRITAIN to the property of a portion of this coast, he made the land, on the 7th of that month, in the latitude of 44° , on NEW ALBION, of which, in 1578, Admiral DRAKE had taken possession in the name of ELIZABETH. Thwarted by the winds, he could only distinguish a few capes or points of land, on one of which he imposed the name of Cape GREGORY, on another, that of Cape PERPETUA, from the days on which he first got sight of them being distinguished by those names in the calendar, and a third, he called Cape FOULWEATHER: the first of the three, Cape GRIGORY which COOK places in $43^{\circ} 10'$, appears to be MARTIN DE AGUILAR'S CAPO BLANCO, so called by him in 1603. Constantly driven off the coast by the winds, he once more lost sight of it, and did not get hold of it again till he reached the latitude of 48° , where he could still

* See *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. ii.

perceive,

perceive, but at a distance, in $48^{\circ} 15'$, a cape which he named Cape FLATTERY.

At length, after having again struggled for a long time against contrary winds, COOK ran in for the land, on the 29th of March, in the latitude of $49^{\circ} 36'$, and anchored in a bay which he called NOOTKA SOUND, from the name of NOOTKA which it receives from the inhabitants of the country*. It is this same NOOTKA the property of which, in 1790, SPAIN claimed as an integral part of her American dominions.

COOK remained there till the 26th of April. He was not more favoured by the winds on quitting this harbour than he had been before he discovered it; and the obstacles which he met with above the 50th parallel, carried his route at so great a distance from the coast, that he could not acquire any knowledge of it till he had reached the latitude of $55^{\circ} 20'$. On the 2d of May, in this parallel, he saw the land six leagues distant. Being arrived at $57^{\circ} 4$ or $5'$, he perceived, at the distance of five or six leagues, a remarkable mountain which he called MOUNT EDORCUMBE,

* It had at first received from Cook the name of *King George's Sound*; but that of *Nootka*, which is its proper name, has prevailed, and with reason: the *King George* of the English would already have been dispossessed by the *San Lorenzo* of the Spanish, which they have substituted to the former; but it must be hoped that the latter will some day condescend to call *Nootka* by its name.

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and the point of land that shoots out from it CAPE EDGECUMBE: this is the MONTE SAN JACINTO, and the CAPO DEL ENGAÑO of the Spaniards in 1775. To the southward of this cape, is the bay which AYALA named BAYA DE GUALUPA; and to the northward, COOK perceived another bay to which he gave the name of BAY OF ISLANDS, and which is the PUERTO DE LOS REMEDIOS of 1775. COOK suspected that these two bays might communicate by one of the arms of the former which turns to the south; and, in this supposition, his mountain and his Cape EDGECUMBE must belong to an island; Captain PORTLOCK who, subsequently to COOK, has visited this quarter most minutely, has discovered, that this great navigator, without putting in there, formed a correct opinion of the disposition of the lands.

Towards the latitude of 58°, COOK discovered an inlet and a cape, which he named CROSS SOUND and CROSS CAPE, from the name given by the English calendar to the 3d of May, the day of this discovery. About two-thirds of a degree more to the northward, he perceived a point of land, stretching out into the sea, and commanded by a high, peaked mountain: this point received the name of MOUNT FAIR WEATHER. From the 58th parallel, the discoveries of Captain COOK are blended with those of the Russian navigators, who, from the advantageous position of the points of their

their departure, the river of KAMTSCHATKA, and the harbour of PETROPAWLOWSKA, were enabled to anticipate all the Europeans in the discovery of the most northern parts of WEST AMERICA. But if the Russians can, deservedly, claim the priority of the discovery, no one will withhold from Captain Cook the glory and the merit of having been the first to determine the true situation of this part of the New World, of having fixed the distance of the two continents, and their respective extent, to the east for ASIA, to the west for NORTH AMERICA, and, by his researches and observations, of having opened a career to the navigators of the European nations who should be desirous in the sequel of attaching themselves to the new branch which the discovery of these coasts presents to the speculations and enterprises of commerce.

In ascending towards the north-west, Cook made BEERING'S MOUNT ST. ELIAS, towards the latitude of $60^{\circ} 30'$. He anchored in a large bay which he named PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, and thence, steering again to the south-west, he discovered and ascended a river, on which, after his death, the gratitude of his nation imposed the name of COOK'S RIVER. He then coasted the east shore of the Peninsula of ALASKA, and touched at the Island of OUNALASKA, which is separated from the south-west point of the peninsula only by the Island of OUNIMAK: these two islands are the nearest to the

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the continent, and the most eastern of that archipelago, or long chain of islands of various sizes, which extends from east to west, on a line bending towards the south, to within three hundred and fifty leagues of the main land, if we consider BEERING's Island as the extremity of the chain. That archipelago, known by the collective name of the ALEUTIAN Islands, forms with the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, and the NORTH-EAST coast of ASIA, a vast basin of about twelve hundred leagues in circuit, which communicates, towards the south, with the GREAT BOREAL OCEAN, by as many straits as the islands form channels between them; and towards the north, under the 66th parallel, with the ARCTIC FROZEN OCEAN, by BEERING's Strait alone.

I shall suffer Captain COOK to extend his course into the NORTH or BEERING's BASIN, and there make, alternately, the coast of AMERICA and that of ASIA; it is sufficient for us to know that he first visited a part of the former, and then followed in its outline, a large bay which he named BRISTOL BAY; that, thence, standing towards the middle of the BASIN, he saw the MATWEIA Island of the Russians which he called GORE's Island, from the name of his first lieutenant, who became commander in chief after his death and that of Captain CLERKE; and that more to the northward, he distinguished the islands named after the Russian Lieutenant SYND, which he called

CLERKE's Islands*. To the east-north-east of these islands, on the continent of AMERICA, he discovered NORTON Sound: he then passed BEERING's Strait, and advanced into the ARCTIC FROZEN OCEAN, following the coast of the same continent, and incessantly struggling against dangers, shoals, and floating mountains of ice, as far as the parallel of $70^{\circ} 44'$, which he reached on the 18th of August. Here, a sea which is no longer liquid, a plain of ice which may be supposed perpetual, did not allow his ships to proceed nearer to the Pole.

Captain COOK might say, as our poet REGNARD when he reached the northern rocks of LAPLAND:

Hic tandem stetimus nobis ubi desuit orbis.

I shall observe, by the way, that the ocean is navigable much farther towards the north, between EUROPE and AMERICA, than between AMERICA and ASIA; for, on the former side, Captain PHIPPS reached, within a few minutes, the 81st parallel; the two attempts were made at two periods of the year little different; the former, on

* We are concerned to see that Captain COOK should with to substitute English names to those which the Russians had imposed on all the islands scattered over the NORTH BASIN for the first discovery of which we are indebted to them: these substitutions cannot but create confusion in the nomenclature of geography, and, in the sequel, give birth to uncertainties and doubts respecting the periods of the discoveries. the

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the 17th of July; the latter, on the 18th of August. It is well known that Captain Cook, in the voyage in which he crossed a part of the ANTARCTIC FROZEN OCEAN in every direction, could not penetrate beyond the latitude of $71^{\circ} 10'$. Thus the parallel of 71° , as well to the south as to the north, seems to be the limit of the navigable ocean between AMERICA and ASIA; but it may be said that, on both sides, it is dangerous, and that it would become useless to the increase of our knowledge, to pursue our route on the frontiers.

The researches of the most experienced and most indefatigable navigator that ever traversed the two oceans, have not been able to revive the hope of finding this so much wished-for passage from the GREAT OCEAN to the ATLANTIC, across NORTH AMERICA; but if, in this respect, the expedition, the command of which had been intrusted to him, has not had the success which, no doubt, any other would in vain try to obtain, at least by the same means, we are indebted to him for having made known to EUROPE a new branch of commerce with CHINA, the fur-trade, which, till then, was almost unknown, and seemed, either likely to be exclusively reserved to the nation that occupies KAMTSCHATKA, or at most, shared with that which, occupying CALIFORNIA, on the one hand, and the PHILIPPINES, on the other, could carry on its armaments in the ports of the former, and make the latter the emporium of its goods for

INTRODUCTION.

barter and of those procured in return. The stay which Captain Cook had made in PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound and in Cook's River had given his people an opportunity of having intercourse a long time with the natives of the different parts of the NORTH-WEST coast, and of procuring, in exchange for some European commodities of small value, skins of sea-otters and other animals. These furs being carried to CHINA, were there sold at exorbitant prices, such as we should be tempted to suspect of exaggeration, did we not know the exactness and veracity of Captain KING, who compiled the third volume of Captain Cook's last voyage, whence I have taken the details which I shall now present.

"During our stay in MACAO Road," says Captain KING, "a brisk trade was carried on with the Chinese, for the sea-otter skins, which had, every day, been rising in their value. One of our seamen sold his stock, alone, for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The amount of the whole, in *specie* and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans, were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, or otherwise

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"wife disposed of, in KAMTSCHATKA *. When, "in addition to these facts," continues KING, "it is remembered, that the furs were, at first, collected without our having any idea of their real value: that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruize to the North; and that, probably, we had never got the full value for them in CHINA; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance to call for the attention of the Public. The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, at one time, was not far short of mutiny †."

Captain KING concludes his account by the exposition of a plan of a voyage for opening a regular trade between the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA and CHINA. This plan, proposed by the pupil, the friend, the companion of Cook, and, as it were, the heir of his thoughts, supported besides by the seducing picture of the enormous profits procured by a first venture, made without

* *Cook's third Voyage*, vol. iii. pages 434 and 435.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. pages 434 and 435.

design, as well as without preparation, offered to cupidity a bait which was greedily seized by such of the nations of EUROPE as were given to extensive commerce, and already familiarized with long voyages. Presently EUROPE, ASIA, and the east part of NORTH AMERICA shewed themselves eager to embark in this new speculation; EUROPE, by means of the ports of ENGLAND; AMERICA, by those of the UNITED STATES; ASIA, by those of BENGAL and BOMBAY: and the fur-trade seemed to insure profits so immense, and presented itself with attractions so irresistible, that even the Spaniards, emerging from their indolence, and the Portuguese routing from their lethargy, prepared for making expeditions, the latter from MACAO, and the former from the PHILIPPINES.

The government of FRANCE, intent on every thing that could give, at once, more activity to the national commerce, and more extension to the navigation of the French, could not behold with indifference the general movement which was preparing in foreign trade, and this common and simultaneous direction of all these speculations towards the same object. But, before they excited, by invitations, by encouragements even, our trading ships to enter into competition with those of other nations, for a new traffic which, in the first instance, must have presented advantages out of all proportion, but which, in the sequel, might no longer afford any thing but losses, if competition

tion in the purchases in AMERICA, and the same in the sales in ASIA, increased beyond measure; prudence dictated the necessity of causing the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA to be visited by vessels belonging to the state, and of verifying through ourselves what it was allowable to hope, for the future, from a trade which had held out so many advantages. The details respecting this new kind of traffic, which Captain KING had inserted in the third volume of COOK's last voyage, were known in FRANCE at the moment when the government, with a view of occupying usefully the leisure of peace, and of procuring for the officers of our navy great means of instruction, intended to give orders for the equipment of two frigates, which, in sailing round the world, should be employed in examining such portions of the earth as navigators had not yet visited; in completing various discoveries made in the GREAT OCEAN by the French; and in improving, by astronomical observations and by researches into the different branches of physics and natural history, the general and particular description of the globe which we inhabit. The examination of the west coasts of NORTH AMERICA, which furnish peltry, might enter into the plan that had been conceived, without its being necessary to change its first dispositions; and the instructions given to LA PÉROUSE, to whom the command of the expedition was intrusted, expressly enjoined him to make a particu-

lar survey of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA. It was, above all, of importance that he should carefully visit the parts comprised between the latitude of 49° and 57° , because, over all this space, Captain COOK, constantly thwarted by the winds, had not been able to examine any other point than NOOTKA; and it was well known that, if the discoveries of FUENTE had any reality, it was in the interval of these two parallels that we might hope to find them again. LA PÉROUSE, in his survey of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, was also to examine what would be the most advantageous manner of drawing furs from that quarter; to what price they had risen, since competition had probably increased their value; and what European commodities appear to have a decided preference in barter with the natives of the coast; he was, by means of the various articles of trade which had been placed at his disposal, to procure through his own means an assortment of skins of otters, and other animals, sufficient for a trial, and carry these skins to CHINA to be there sold or converted into the commodities and merchandise of the EAST. This double operation of exchange would yield a first profit to which would be added the known profit on the productions of ASIA in the markets of EUROPE; and this series of combined operations could alone lead to a transient view, to the formation of an idea of the total profit that the fur-trade which called our ships from
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from such great distances and required such considerable advances, might promise, as the final result to the speculations of commerce.

It is not my intention to anticipate the publication of LA PÉROUSE's voyage, nor to give a minute account of his proceedings on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; I will only indicate the points which he there discovered or examined, and the periods of the discoveries.

He made the land on the 23d of June 1786, towards the 60th parallel, on BEERING's Mount ST. ELIAS. Having reached the latitude of $58^{\circ} 38'$, and longitude of $139^{\circ} 50'$ west from the meridian of PARIS, he perceived an opening which indicated a haven or a passage: he entered it, and discovered a very fine harbour which he named PORT DES FRANÇAIS, and which, unfortunately, has been but too well entitled to preserve that name for ever, from a lamentable accident which had there occasioned the loss of several distinguished officers, and of a great number of people belonging to the two frigates.

Between the 57th and 55th parallel, that is to say, from MONTE SAN JACINTO to Cape SANT AGUSTIN of the Spaniards, LA PÉROUSE carefully surveyed an extent of 40 leagues of coast, of which Captain COOK had, as it were, had but a glimpse, and of which we had but a very imperfect idea, as long as it was known only by the journal of ANTONIO MAURELLE. LA PÉROUSE ascertained,

tained, by an exact and minute examination, that the interval between the 56th and 55th degrees of latitude, is filled by an archipelago which, being separated from the continent by a channel of about five leagues in its greatest width, extends the length of upwards of twenty leagues from north-north-west to south-south east. This archipelago is not even indicated in the journal of the Spaniards: it is, however, towards the third of its length, reckoning from Cape SANT AGUSTIN, that their fine Port BUCARELLI is situated: and their Isle SAN CARLOS which presents itself three or four leagues to the south-south-west of the cape, with the neighbouring islots, might be considered as a farther continuation or the tail of this archipelago.

On the 10th of August, towards the latitude of $54^{\circ} 15'$, LA PÉROUSE began to discover a long string of lands which Captain COOK, driven from the coast by contrary winds, had not had it in his power to reconnoitre, and of which we may doubt whether the Spaniards ever had a knowledge since they have made no particular mention of them. LA PÉROUSE ranged along them for ten days, from north to south, beyond the 52d degree over an extent of 50 leagues; and, after having doubled the most southern cape, he hauled again to the northward to the east of these lands which he found to be detached from the continent; but he could not, with the northerly winds, get high enough

enough up the gulf into which he had entered, to ascertain whether they make a part of an archipelago, as he presumed; or whether they belong to a large peninsula connected to the continent by an isthmus which the distance may not have allowed him to perceive. We have learned since that it is, in fact, an archipelago which the English who have examined it, subsequently to the voyage of the French, have named *QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands*.

From the south part of these lands, crossing the gulf and standing towards the north-east, *LA PÉROUSE* soon reached those which shewed themselves on that side, and discovered several islands which must form a part of Admiral *DE FUENTE'S* archipelago of *SAN LAZARO*, and beyond which, at a rather considerable distance, he distinguished the high lands of the continent *.

The examination of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA was not the principal object of *LA PÉROUSE'S* expedition; and as the end of the month of August was approaching, and the season for navigating on this coast, where fogs are very frequent and the winds in general violent, ends with the month of September, he had not leisure to engage in minute surveys which would have required several months: he was, besides, obliged to husband his time, and to make of it a distribu-

(* See Note * farther back, page xxxix.)

tion proportionate to the number, the nature, and the presumed length of the operations that remained for him to accomplish in such a manner, in short, as was enjoined him by the entire execution of the immense plan which was marked out for him in his instructions. In extending as he did, his surveys as far as COOK'S NOOTKA Sound, he had completed what was wanting in those of that celebrated navigator between the 49th and 57th parallels. Thus, ships dispatched from the ports of EUROPE, have procured us by the researches of a few months, the knowledge of a long range of coasts with which the Spaniards who, for two centuries and a half, occupied a part of them, had not yet found means to be acquainted!

LA PÉROUSE constructed an exact chart of all the coast which he visited and imposed names on the capes, harbours, and islands which were not seen by the navigators who had preceded him*. Having reached the parallel of NOOTKA Sound, he continued to stand to the southward, and, about the middle of September, put into the harbour of MONTEREY, whence he transmitted to FRANCE a summary of the first operations of his voyage.

* In the *Atlas* which is to accompany the account of *La Pérouse's* voyage, will be found a general Chart and several particular charts which present, most minutely, the survey which he made of the north-west coast of America.

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I shall not follow LA PÉROUSE in his farther navigation; I shall only add to the indication that I have given of the portion of coasts which he reconnoitred, that, in order to comply with the article of his instructions relative to the fur-trade, he had trafficked for some furs on the NORTH-WEST coast; and that, having in the course of his voyage, put into the Road of MACAO, he there caused to be sold the skins of the sea-otters and other animals which he had been able to procure. This sale produced fifty-five thousand livres (*circa* 2083l. sterling); and I observe that the *whole* of the sum was distributed between the sailors and soldiers of the two frigates, *without the officers sharing it in any manner whatever.*

It will be matter of astonishment, no doubt, that I lay a stress on this observation; and, most assuredly, it would never have entered my mind that there could be a necessity for mentioning it, if the Editor * of *Captain Dixon's Voyage* had

* It was not known who was the Editor of *Dixon's Voyage*, written in the form of letters signed *W. B.*, till Mr. *Dixon*, on the one hand, and Mr. *Meares*, on the other, informed us that the journal was the work of Mr. *Beresford*, employed on board the snow *Queen Charlotte* in the capacity of supercargo. (See *Dixon's Remarks on Meares's Voyages*, page 8, and *Meares's Answer*, page 6.)

When we read this journal, we have no difficulty in believing Captain *Dixon*, when he says that "it was written by a person on board the *Queen Charlotte*, who has been totally unused to literary pursuits, and equally so to a sea-faring life." (Page xxii of the *Introduction* which is given as the work of *Dixon* himself.)

not taken the liberty of making some rash, I should say almost indecent, assertions, which I am very far from attributing to Captain DIXON himself: a navigator by profession, an officer of the navy, knows too well the mutual respect which those who, by braving the same dangers, and devoting themselves to enlighten and enrich their country, owe to each other, for him to have ventured to give an unfavourable opinion concerning an expedition with which he is not and cannot be acquainted, still less for him to endeavour to cause the veracity of the commander of the expedition to be suspected.

“The ASTROLABE and BOUSOLE,” says the English Editor, “two French ships commanded by M. PÉROUSE and DE LANGLE, sailed from FRANCE in 1785; they are said to have traced the north-west coast of AMERICA from the Spanish settlement of MONTEREY, to 60 deg. north latitude; *but this seems rather improbable; for though these vessels were professedly fitted out on discovery, yet the Commanders did not forget that furs were a valuable article, and accordingly, whilst on the American coast, they procured about 600 sea-otter skins, chiefly in pieces, of a very inferior quality, and evidently the same as those imported by the Spaniards; whereas had these gentlemen been well in with the coast to the northward, they undoubtedly must have met* “with

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"with sea-otter skins of a quality far superior to what they procured *."

I shall first say that I conceive that the disinterestedness of the commander and officers of the French frigates may astonish a *supercargo*, all whose ideas must turn on the means that can be employed for increasing the profits of his employers; but I shall add that a French officer attaches to this act of disinterestedness no other merit than that of having done what he owes to himself, and what he owes to the unknown companions of his labours, who, sharing, equally with those who command them, the fatigues and dangers of the expedition, have not an equal share of glory: every one is paid in the coin that suits him.

I shall next ask the Editor whence he learnt that the French frigates were professedly fitted out on discovery: would he wish us to believe that he had read the instructions given to LA PÉROUSE?

I shall also ask him, whether the latitude of $58^{\circ} 38'$, which is that of PORT DES FRANÇAIS, appears to him northerly enough for that port to be comprised in what he terms "*well in with the coast to the Northward?*" I shall observe to him that the latitude of NORFOLK BAY, the BAY DE GUADALUPA of the Spaniards, in which, in 1787, Captain DIXON collected a part of his cargo, is only in 57° , and that QUEEN CHAR-

* *Dixon's Voyage round the World, &c.* London. 1789. 4to. page 320.

LOTTE'S Islands off which, in so short a time, he trafficked for such a considerable quantity of beaver and sea otter-skin cloaks, according to him of *prime* quality, are situated between the 54th and 52d parallels: why, then will he not allow that LA PÉROUSE who proceeded as high as the vicinity of the 59th where he traded, may have there procured furs of as fine a quality as those might be which DIXON obtained 7° lower, since he himself says, and it was known before he said it, that, the higher the latitude, the better is the quality of the furs? And why does he take the liberty of saying that the sea-otter skins, procured by LA PÉROUSE, are *evidently the same as those imported by the Spaniards?* I know not whence the latter draw their furs; but it is probable that they chiefly procure them through their *Presidios* of SAN DIEGO and MONTEREY, the former situated in 33° 40', the latter in 36° 38' *: there is a great distance from these latitudes, and a still greater from that of 52°, at which DIXON carried on his rich traffic, to the latitude of 58° 38', in which LA PÉROUSE made his, and where evidently (for here lies the *evidence*) he may have pro-

* Should the Spaniards, as may be presumed, some day form a substantial settlement in *Bucarelli Bay*, which presents several fine harbours and which is situated above the latitude of 45°, they will thence be able to draw furs of a prime quality; and, no doubt, they will not neglect this resource which is, in a manner, at their door, and may support their languishing trade of the *Philippines with China*.

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cured skins of the *first quality*. I know not whether the English imagine that to depreciate the trade of other nations is a fair method of giving more extent and more lustre to that of GREAT BRITAIN*.

Lastly, to dispel the doubts which DIXON's Editor pretends to have, and which he would wish to accredit, respecting the survey that LA PÉROUSE made of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, I shall say to him that *truth is not always probable*, but that is always true; that the Journal of this commander, written with his own hand, from the

* Most assuredly, I do not pretend that the essay of traffic made by *La Pérouse*, procured him skins as *well-conditioned* as those that *Dixon* obtained in a voyage the only object of which was the fur-trade; but here it is not the *condition* of the skins, but their *quality* that is in question; because the quality depends on the latitude in which they are procured, and the condition depends on circumstances absolutely foreign to the latitude. *La Pérouse*, in a letter which he wrote me from *Macao* Road, on the 3d of January 1787, said: "We have traded, on the coast of *North America*, for near a thousand sea otter-skins, but the greater part is in *shreds and rotten*." Certainly, these shreds must have belonged to skins of a very superior quality, and consequently drawn from *very high latitudes*, since their sale in *China* produced *ten thousand dollars*. Any one who knew *La Pérouse* and the sentiments of humanity and beneficence which ruled his conduct, will not be astonished that he laments the condition of his furs, and that in writing to me, in the grief of his heart, he should have greatly exaggerated the bad state in which they were. on his arrival at *Macao*: alas! he would have wished that the produce of these skins could have made the fortune of each of the sailors and soldiers who served under his command, and whom he cherished as his children!

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time of his departure from BREST, to the day which preceded his departure from BOTANY Bay, and printed such as it arrived in FRANCE at different times, will prove that LA PÉROUSE ranged along, reconnoitred, examined and took bearings of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, not as is asserted by the writer with whom I am contending, from MONTEREY to the 60th degree of north latitude, but from the 60th degree to MONTEREY, which is very different; for it is well known that the north and north-west winds, which reign almost constantly on this extent of coast, afford every facility of running down from the northward to the southward, while they oppose difficulties, frequently insurmountable, as Captain COOK experienced, when a navigator wishes to stand from the southward to the northward.

The reader will no longer be astonished that the Editor of DIXON's voyage chooses to doubt that LA PÉROUSE reconnoitred a length of coast of about 23 degrees and a half, or 470 leagues in latitude, if he remarked that the space between the 50th and the 56th parallels, which COOK had not had it in his power to reconnoitre, is comprised in the space that LA PÉROUSE reconnoitred in 1786: how can it, in fact, be believed that a Frenchman has executed what an Englishman had not been able to accomplish? The reader must also know that Captain DIXON, although Captains LOWRIE and GUISE contest with him the priority, stand

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stands forward as having discovered, in 1787, these very lands, or rather these very islands, separated from the continent by a gulf, which LA PÉROUSE had discovered, the preceding year, between the latitude of 54° and 52 degrees *. LA PÉROUSE's voyage will give fresh displeasure to the Editor of that of DIXON, when he will there see that, in 1786, a Frenchman has found again, between the 54d and 53d degree, Admiral de FUENTE's Archipelago of SAN LAZARO, which the English navigators did not find till the following year, he will excuse himself by saying that *this is not probable*; and he will not suspect that, on an assertion so imposing, which precludes every inquiry, all EUROPE will be convinced that *this is not true*.

The English have too long taken advantage of our silence; too long have they had the honour of those discoveries in which we have anticipated them: what! because unfortunate circumstances,

* Captain Dixon might object that, on the 17th of September 1786, he had made the land in the latitude of 53° 46', on the west coast of *Queen Charlotte's Islands*, which he did not reconnoitre till the following year; but he made only one point belonging to these lands which he supposed to belong to the continent, and he continued his course for *Noatka Sound*. (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 76.) If it were meant to call this simple view the discovery of *Queen Charlotte's Islands*, still *Dixon* would not have the priority: for he had a glimpse of a point of them on the 17th of September: and from the 10th to the 20th of August of the same year, *La Pérouse* had ranged along the west shore of them from north to south throughout their whole length, and had sounded the south part of them.

too well known to the whole world for me not to spare myself the mortification of repeating them, and the Reader that of reading them, have presented insurmountable obstacles to the publication of the voyage of our countryman, at the time that it ought to have appeared, must we suffer, without complaining, that this unfortunate navigator should not, after his death, enjoy his immortal labours? Ah! if his destiny has not allowed us to engrave them on his tomb; at least, in claiming this inheritance, let the feeling and just nation, for which he sacrificed his life, for ever consecrate in the annals of history, his services, his death, and its gratitude!

But if we cannot grant that the English were the first discoverers of the islands on which they have imposed the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE, nor that they first found again the Archipelago of SAN LAZARO, which they have named PRINCESS ROYAL Islands, we cannot refuse them a merit which ought not to be forgotten, that of having reconnoitred more minutely those very parts of coasts which had escaped the researches of Captain Cook; which the Spaniards may have seen before without reconnoitring them, or perhaps without choosing to make us acquainted with them; and which complete the survey of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, from Cape MENDOCINO, in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$, to Icey Cape, situated between the 70th and 71st parallels, the most northern that Captain
Cook

COOK could reach in that fatal voyage in which a tragic death terminated the most laborious and the most useful career that any navigator ever pursued.

As all the surveys, from the 48th degree to the 56th, made by the English navigators, in the course of the four years comprised between 1785 and 1789, are partly included in each other, I shall not present many details respecting the particular operations of each navigator; it is my duty to confine myself to pointing out the periods of the voyages, and the most striking circumstance of each expedition. We are assured that the English Government has, in these latter times, dispatched vessels with the special mission to make a complete survey of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, to verify and rectify the accounts of each navigator, and to compose from all the particular labours of the English nation, in this quarter, a general picture drawn by the same hand, in which the description of this part of the globe, founded on numerous researches and observations, will not be inferior in point of accuracy to the description of the continents whose coasts are the most frequented. We may imagine that the British nation which, at all times, has published without reserve, the result of its maritime expeditions, will not employ any in the publication of a work which, in doing honour to the foresight of its government and to the talents of its seamen, will become the censure of the silence or of the concealment of a nation from

which every other ought to expect this favour. But if the labour of the English be terminated, we cannot enjoy it till the most unmerciful of wars having at length ceased to depopulate EUROPE and to lay waste the two Worlds, a necessary peace shall have re-opened, at least for a time, channels of communication between two nations, both of which have too much energy, too much knowledge, too many possessions, too much trade, too much power, for them, rivals as they are in glory since they have figured on the stage of the world, not to be eternally divided by interests.

Until the general work which is announced can be known to us, let us rapidly review the particular operations which have paved the way to this interesting whole.

The third voyage of Captain COOK was not published in LONDON till 1784; and already in 1781, on the first indication that had been given of a new branch of trade, which presented itself on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, an expedition had been prepared in the ADRIATIC Gulf, under the Imperial flag and the direction of WILLIAM BOLTS, an Englishman by birth, in the service of the Emperor of GERMANY, a man very well informed, a long time employed in the EAST INDIES and at BENGAL, and who had acquired in several long voyages, all the knowledge necessary for managing well an expedition of this kind. And, indeed, the double object of the equipment

was

was to make discoveries and to trade for furs on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; and in this view, persons versed in the different branches of natural and physical sciences, were to be employed in it. But an intrigue, both the source and the means of which are unknown, overset this enterprise, before the two ships that were destined for it had been put in a state to carry it into execution.

If the speculations which a new trade excited, could, at so great a distance, induce EUROPE to engage in enterprises, how much more attracting must they not be to the ship-owners and merchants scattered over all the parts of ASIA where the Europeans exercise their commercial activity? In fact, it was evident that the ships which should be dispatched from the seas situated to the east of the Old World; would have a great advantage over those which should sail from the ports of EUROPE: the voyage of the former consisted only in twice crossing the GREAT OCEAN with regular and known winds; while the latter, obliged to double either Cape HORN, or the Cape of GOOD HOPE, according as they take their route by the west or by the east, and exposed to the variation and contrariety of the winds, necessarily lengthen their passages by seven or eight thousand leagues, and the duration of their voyage by upwards of a year; and, indeed, speculations were particularly numerous in the ports of CHINA and INDIA.

The first expedition was prepared in the river of CANTON : Captain JAMES HANNA there equipped a brig of 60 tons and 30 men, and set sail from the TYPA in the month of April 1785. He coasted the northern shores of ASIA, traversed the southern extremity of JAPAN, and arrived, in the month of August, at NOOTKA Sound, which, from the experience of Captain COOK, was considered as the great mart of the furs of AMERICA.

When his traffic was concluded, HANNA stood to the northward of NOOTKA ; towards the latitude of $51^{\circ} 15'$, he discovered FITZHUGH Sound, and had only one step to make in order to find again FUENTE's archipelago of SAN LAZARO ; he even visited, in this parallel, some of the islands called by him LANCE's Islands, which may belong to it, other lands to which he gave the name of HENRY LANE, and a harbour which received that of SEA-OTTER's HARBOUR. It is said that HANNA brought back to CHINA a rich cargo of furs*.

The success of this first voyage induced him, in 1786, to undertake a second with a ship of 120 tons burden, called the SEA-OTTER. He sailed from MACAO in the month of May, and proceeded

* I am ignorant whether, since the communications with England have been stopped, the voyages of Hanna and of some other English navigators have been published. I have extracted what concerns Hanna's voyage from the original narratives of Portlock, page iii. Dixon, page xvii. and Meares, page li.

straight

straight to NOOTKA Sound. This second expedition of HANNA has added nothing to our knowledge respecting the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; it is thought not to have been so lucrative as the first: he returned to MACAO in the month of May 1787, and was preparing for a third voyage when death stopped him in the middle of his career.

This expedition was not the only one which was undertaken in the year 1786: various companies of merchants and men of large capitals, as well in ASIA as in EUROPE, wished to try fortune through the channel which Captain COOK had opened.

Captain PETERS, commanding the snow LARK, of 220 tons and 40 men, was dispatched from MACAO in the month of July of the year 1786: his instructions prescribed to him to repair to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA by the route of KAMTSCHATKA, and to examine the islands which are situated to the northward of JAPAN. He arrived at PETROPAWLOWSKA on the 20th of August, and left that harbour on the 18th of September. Accounts have since been received, that the LARK was lost on MEDNOI OSTROFF (Copper Island), situated to the south-east of BEERING'S Island, and that only two of her people were saved*.

Although

* The Introduction to Captain *Dixon's* voyage has chiefly furnished me with this extract concerning the voyage of the snow

Although the river of CANTON and the port of MACAO seemed specially indicated for expeditions relative

snow *Lark*; but I have thought it my duty to add to it some particular details which prove to what a pitch the commercial activity of the English is exercised on every point of the globe; and how, by combined speculations, by operations of barter, double and triple, they find means, by multiplying as it were the same voyage to double and triple the profits, without increasing the expenses of the expedition. For these details we are indebted to a French traveller, who, though scarcely five and twenty years of age, hesitated not to undertake by land, and happily terminated, but not without many fatigues and dangers, a voyage of four thousand leagues, across the frozen deserts of *Kamtschatka* and *Siberia*, and that immense extent of country comprised between *Petropawlowska* and the capital of *France*, in order to bring to *Versailles*, where he arrived on the 17th of October 1788, the dispatches and journals of *La Pérouse*, under whose orders he had served since his departure from *Europe* till his arrival at *Kamtschatka*.

"An English vessel," says *Lesser*, "belonging to Mr. *Lance*, a merchant at *Macao*, came last year and anchored in the harbour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: Captain *Peters* commanding the ship, made to the Russians proposals of trade, of which the following is the substance. By his treaty with a Russian merchant, named *Schelikhoff*, he engaged to carry on trade in this part of the dominions of the *Empress*, and asked for merchandise to the value of eighty thousand roubles. It is probable that these goods would have consisted only in peltry which the English proposed to sell in *China*, whence they would have brought back in exchange, furs and other articles suitable to the Russians. The merchant *Schelikhoff* himself repaired to *Petersburg*, to solicit the consent of his sovereign, and obtained it; but while he was labouring to put himself in a condition to fulfil the clauses of his treaty, he was informed that the English ship was lost on *Copper Island*, in returning to *Kamtschatka*, from the north-east coast

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relative to a trade which had its vent through CHINA, the ports of INDIA, BOMBAY and CALCUTTA, by reason of the facility which they afford to ship-owners for the equipment and victualling of vessels, soon obtained a preference to the former.

In the beginning of 1786, the snows Captain COOK, of 300 tons, commanded by Captain LOWRIE, and the EXPERIMENT of 100 tons, by Captain GUISE, were fitted out at BOMBAY. Mr. STRANGE, agent of the English Company, em-

"of America: she had been there, according to every appearance, to take in furs for beginning her cargo, which she was coming to complete in the harbour of *St. Peter and St. Paul*. Accounts were received that two men only of her crew, a Portuguese and a Bengal negro, were saved, and had passed the winter in *Copper Island*, whence a Russian vessel had conveyed them to *Nijenai-Kamtschatka*: they joined us at *Bolcheretsk*, where I then was with Colonel *Kasloff-Ougrenin*, commandant at *Okotsk* and at *Kamtschatka*, who intended to send them, next season, to *Petersburgh*." (See the *Journal historique du Voyage de LESSEPS, du Kamtschatka en France*. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1790, 2 vol. 8vo. vol. i. Note of page 10.)

N. B. Those who would wish to have details equally true and interesting relative to the present state of *Kamtschatka*, and the inhabitants and productions of this peninsula and the neighbouring countries, should read the *Travels of Lesseps*, who, possessing the Russian language and having made a rather long stay in the country, with the desire and the means of acquiring knowledge, had an opportunity of learning from M. *Kasloff*, a very intelligent and very communicative man, every information that can give an exact idea of this east part of *Asia*, hitherto imperfectly known.

barked

barked in the former vessel in the capacity of super-cargo.

On the 27th June following, these two vessels arrived at NOOTKA Sound, where they remained till the 27th of July.

They afterwards visited other parts of the coast, and arrived at PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, discovered, in 1778, by COOK, under the 60th parallel.

"In this progress," says Mr. MEARES, "they indisputably discovered that land to which Mr. DIXON gave the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, which he did merely from conjectural opinion, as they were never proved to be such till Captain DOUGLAS, in the IPHIGENIA, sailed through the channel which separates them from what was then supposed to be the American Continent*.

The

* See *Mearns's Voyages*, page liii.

A polemical discussion of the warmest kind arose between Mr. Dixon and Mr. Meares, on their return from America; they reciprocally contested each other's discoveries; and each of the disputants sometimes attributes those of his competitor to another navigator, rather than leave the enjoyment of them to him. I declare formally that I do not pretend to decide between them, and *tantas componere lites*. Perhaps in the midst of the obscurity in which the French are left respecting this matter, since our communications with England have been interrupted, it may have happened to me to attribute to one navigator some small portion of discovery which another may claim: but all are equally unknown to me, otherwise than by the account of their voyages, and by what some

The CAPTAIN COOK and EXPERIMENT snows, as well as the vessels which had preceded them, arrived safe at MACAO.

It appears that Captain MEARES attributes to Captains LOWRIE and GUISE, to the exclusion of

some of them have said of the voyages of their countrymen: and if, by chance, I enrich the one at the expense of the other, it is by mistake, and without the smallest intention of so doing; the only one I have, is to preserve the strictest neutrality between navigators *quorum causas procul habeo*. That this neutrality should be an armed neutrality will not, however, be disapproved of, when the question is to claim what may belong to the French whose cause is foreign to the quarrel of the English. My sole object has been to ascertain that *Fuente's* archipelago of *San Lazaro*, and *Fuca's* Strait or Inlet, are not romantic discoveries, with respect to geography, and to guard geographers and historians against the facility with which they too frequently take the liberty of pronouncing that a discovery is fabulous, because we have not yet been able to find again the islands or lands which the ancients have pointed out to us: old *Herodotus* might here be joined to *Fuente* and *Fuca*, much less ancient, in order to complain of the numerous acts of injustice which he has experienced. What is of importance in the question before us, is to ascertain the identity of the ancient discovery with the modern discovery; and let us afterwards leave the *second discoverers* to make the most of and dispute their titles of *Priority*: in time, ill-founded pretensions vanish and give place to truth. If the Reader wish to know particularly what are the objects in dispute, he may consult the following polemical works: *Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, Esq.* By George Dixon, London, Stockdale, 1790, 4to.—*An Answer to Mr. George Dixon, By John Meares, Esq.* London, Logographic Press, 1791, 4to.—*Further Remarks on the Voyages of J. Meares, &c.* By G. Dixon, London, Stockdale, 1791.

Captain

Captain DIXON, the first discovery of the lands called QUEEN CHARLOTTE's Islands; and to Captain DOUGLAS, the discovery of the north strait which separates them from the continent, and makes them islands. We shall not dispute with the English this last discovery; for LA PÉROUSE, who had rightly presumed that these lands must be islands, had not an opportunity of satisfying himself in that particular; but we shall not grant them so easily the priority of the discovery; for it is said that Captains LOWRIE and GUISE did not arrive at NOOTKA Sound till the 27th of June, and that they staid there till the 27th of July. It is neither known at what precise period they saw QUEEN CHARLOTTE's Islands, nor how the discovery was made, nor what portion of these lands they examined; but we know with certainty that LA PÉROUSE discovered them on the 10th of August of the same year: that he followed and examined the coasts of them for ten days, and ranged along them, from north to south, over an extent of fifty leagues: what may be adduced as more favourable to the pretension of the English, is, that on whatever side the priority is, the two discoveries must be nearly cotemporary; and that, on both sides, the honour is equal.

Expeditions from BENGAL followed close on those from the coast of MALABAR; the vessels, the NOOTKA, of 200 tons, and the SEA-OTTER of

of 100 tons, the former commanded by Captain JOHN MEARES, the latter by Captain WILLIAM TIPPING, were fitted out at CALCUTTA.

MEARES set sail in the month of March 1786; and, in this first voyage, he took his route by the ALEUTIAN Islands, with some of which he had a communication. He afterwards put into PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, and was forced to winter in that bay: twenty-three of his people there died of cold and want. He returned by the SANDWICH Islands to MACAO, where he arrived on the 20th of October 1787.

Captain TIPPING, commanding the SEA-OTTER, had quitted CALCUTTA a few days after Captain MEARES: his destination was likewise for PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, where he arrived in the month of September; and he there found the snows CAPTAIN COOK and EXPERIMENT. He thence sailed again the next day, in order, as it is thought, to go to COOK'S River; but, since that period nothing more has been heard of the SEA-OTTER, and it is supposed that his vessel has been lost*.

Till now, all the expeditions for the fur-trade had failed from the ports of ASIA: and the English navigators, known under the denomination of *Indiamen*, had no other competitors than the Portuguese of MACAO: the allurements of the im-

* See *Meares's Introductory Voyage*, page i. and following.

menſe profits which were daily made under the eyes of thoſe Aſiatic Europeans, might well draw them for a few moments from their torpor, and incite them to make ſome effort to creep into the ſteps of the Engliſh; but an ill-directed, dilatory, and ephemeral competition, could never keep pace with the commercial activity of their indefatigable rivals. The ſhip-owners who had firſt engaged in the career, had rather to dread the ſpeculations of EUROPE; and, in fact, the European ſhips were not long before they made their appearance on the NORTH-WEST coaſt of AMERICA; they were ſoon followed thither by thoſe belonging to the UNITED STATES; but thoſe of the THAMES got the ſtart of all the others.

RICHARD CADMAN ETCHES and other merchants of LONDON had, in the month of May 1785, entered into a commercial copartnerſhip, under the title of the *King George's Sound Company*; the object of this aſſociation was to eſtabliſh a regular trade between the NORTH-WEST coaſt and CHINA. But two privileges equally oppoſed this enterpriſe; that of the SOUTH-SEA Company who, without carrying on any traffic themſelves, ſtand in the way of more adventurous merchants; and that of the EAST-INDIA Company, who carry on too much, and wiſh that others ſhould carry on none at all. A negotiation was ſet on foot with the two companies: as the former did not wiſh to ſend any ſhips into their SOUTH-SEA, they at
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least granted a license to others, to send some: the latter granted a similar license, and at the same time engaged to give ships that should bring furs from AMERICA to CANTON, freights of teas to bring from CHINA to EUROPE. The KING GEORGE'S or NOOTKA Sound Company have evinced what an association of merchants and men of capital can, without privilege, undertake, and execute, when not opposed by prejudice, and restrained by monopolies.

This new company purchased and fitted out two vessels, the ship KING GEORGE of 320 tons, and the snow QUEEN CHARLOTTE of 200 tons. Captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK was appointed commander of the larger vessel, and of the expedition, and Captain GEORGE DIXON of the smaller: these two officers who had served under Captain COOK, had, under that great master, acquired a competent degree of knowledge and experience to qualify them for voyages.

The two vessels set sail from the DOWNS, on the 2d of September 1785*. Their operations on the coast of AMERICA, in 1786, were confined to trading in COOK'S River; but they were not able to penetrate into PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound.

* See *A Voyage round the World*, &c. by Nathaniel Portlock. London. 1789. 4to.—*A Voyage round the World* by George Dixon. London: 1789. 4to.

They quitted the NORTH coast in order to proceed to the NORTH-WEST coast; but, being thwarted by the winds, they renounced, for this year, the idea of trading in NOOTKA Sound. In this run, they had made the land between the latitude of 58° and 57° ; and in the parallel of 53° they had also sight of land which they judged to be a continuation of the continent; but the following year, it was found that the cape, or the portion of the coast which they had perceived in this latitude, belongs to those islands discovered by LA PÉROUSE; which the English have since named QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands.

The month of October was approaching; it was prudent to abandon the coast: the two ships directed their course for the SANDWICH Islands which afforded resources for their victualling. PORTLOCK rightly judged, that it would be less dangerous to the health of the people to occupy them at sea, in the run from AMERICA to the SANDWICH Islands, and in the return from those islands to the coast, than to cause them to winter in a country where the severity of the climate and the scarcity of subsistence must make him equally dread to remain.

On the return of summer, the two ships proceeded back to the NORTH coast of AMERICA, and, on the 23d of April 1787, made the land on MONTAGUE'S Island, at the entrance of PRINCE WILLIAM'S

WILLIAM's Sound, in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 10'$. They traded for some time in that bay; and, after this operation was completed, they separated.

In the latitude of $57^{\circ} 50'$, PORTLOCK discovered GOULDING's and PORTLOCK's Harbours, and SALISBURY Sound. While he was at anchor in the harbour of his name, in $57^{\circ} 48'$, he detached his long-boat to visit the part of the coast situated to the south-east of this harbour, and to trade there for furs with the natives by whom it is inhabited. In her excursion, the long-boat came to the mouth of a narrow channel into which she entered, and which carried her to the north part of the BAYA DE GUADALUPA of the Spaniards, to the east-north-east of Mount SAN JACINTO and of Cape DEL ENGANO (COOK's Mount EDGE-CUMBE and Cape EDGE-CUMBE), in the latitude of $57^{\circ} 10'$. This route proved that that cape and mountain form the south part of a narrow island, about ten leagues long, on a north-north-west and south-south-east direction, and that they do not belong to the continent. This island Captain PORTLOCK distinguished by the name of PITT's Island; and the channel, whose northern mouth is in SALISBURY Sound, and its southern, in GUADALUPA Bay, was called HAYWARD's Strait, from the name of one of the officers who had discovered it.

Here PORTLOCK terminated his operations, and directed his course to the SANDWICH Islands.

DIXON, on his part, had discovered, in the parallel of COOK's ADMIRALTY Bay, towards the latitude of $59^{\circ} 30'$, a harbour which he named PORT MULGRAVE. Thence, in following the coast, he put into GUADALUPA Bay, which, no doubt, he did not at first know to be that of the Spaniards, for he imposed on it the name of NORFOLK Sound. A little to the southward of this bay, in the latitude of $56^{\circ} 35'$, he discovered a fine harbour which he named PORT BANKS, in honour of SIR JOSEPH BANKS, the enlightened promoter of every enterprise favourable to the progress of the arts and sciences, who, at his own expense, accompanied Captain COOK in his first voyage round the world, and whose zeal, talents, and fortune have been constantly employed for the good of his country, and for the increase of human knowledge. Between 56° and 55° , he saw a long chain of small islands which fill, in front of the continent, the space comprised between those two parallels; these are the same which LA PÉROUSE had reconnoitred in 1786, and to which he gave the collective name of ILES DES ESPAGNOLS (Islands of the Spaniards), because it is in the south part of this little archipelago that their Port BUCARELLI is situated. In continuing his route to the south-south-east, DIXON discovered, on the 1st of July, a land in $54^{\circ} 24'$: this was the north part of those islands which are at this day laid down on the English charts under the name of
QUEEN

QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, and of which LA PÉROUSE had been the first discoverer the preceding year. DIXON ranged along this archipelago, as LA PÉROUSE had done, by its west shore, to its southern extremity, doubled it to the southward, and stood again to the northward, ranging along the east shore, as far as $53^{\circ} 10'$. In this latitude, he perceived to the eastward, in the distance, a cape of the continent, on which he imposed the name of Cape DALRYMPLE; a homage deservedly paid to a learned navigator whose researches have so much contributed to arrange the chaos of ancient voyages, and whose hydrographical labours and writings, by improving the description of the globe, have facilitated the communications between the two Worlds. It is probable that Cape DALRYMPLE is the lofty part of some one of the islands which form Admiral DE FUENTE'S archipelago of SAN LAZARO. Captain DIXON ran down the east coast of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands as he had ascended it, without pushing his researches towards the continent. He then presented himself off NOOTKA Sound; but having been informed, by some English vessels that were coming out of it, that the trade, for this year, was exhausted in that quarter, he directed his course for the SANDWICH Islands where he rejoined Captain PORTLOCK.

The two ships carried the produce of their trade to CANTON whence they returned to ENGLAND.

Captains PORTLOCK and DIXON having visited some parts of the coast which had not yet been examined, procured cargoes much richer than any of those which the frequented parts had been able to furnish to the ships from INDIA which had first engaged in this new branch of commerce *.

The ports of ENGLAND and her men of capital seemed not likely to satisfy the eagerness with which her navigators would have proceeded towards this new branch of riches, had not their flight met with an insurmountable barrier in the privileges of the great companies. In order to evade those privileges which extended only to the expeditions that it was wished to set on foot in the ports of the three kingdoms, the English speculators came to seek on the continent, for that liberty which monopoly had, long since, banished from their islands.

THE IMPERIAL EAGLE, commanded by Captain BERKELEY, was dispatched from the port of OSTEND towards the end of November of the year 1786.

He arrived at NOOTKA Sound in the month of August of the following year. He visited a part of the coast situated to the southward of NOOTKA, and, in running down it again, he came to an inlet or bay which has received his name. His long-boat, being dispatched from this last-mentioned port in order to make a survey of the most southern parts, discovered in the latitude of 48°

* See *Portlock's Voyage*.—*Dixon's Voyage*.

30', an inlet or strait; and it cannot be doubted that this is the same which JUAN DE FUCA had discovered in 1592, and which is indicated nearly under this parallel. (*See farther back, page x and xi.*)

It is said that Captain BERKELEY arrived at CHINA a year after his departure from OSTEND *: it must therefore be presumed that he had found every facility in carrying on his trade, since, in so short an interval, he had been able, without interrupting his commercial operations, to sacrifice some days to the examination of the coast, and to apply himself to a research which has cleared up a point of the history of ancient voyages, and revived DON JUAN DE FUCA in order to make him enjoy the discovery of his Strait, which Geographers had considered as fabulous.

In giving an account of the expedition of Captains PORTLOCK and DIXON, I have said that, when the latter appeared off NOOTKA Sound, in the beginning of August 1787, he met with some vessels that were coming out of it, and dissuaded him from entering it: these vessels were a ship and a sloop belonging to the owners of the ships commanded by PORTLOCK and DIXON, Mr. ETCHES and his associates. The ship, named the PRINCE OF WALES, was commanded by Captain COLNETT, and the sloop, the PRINCESS ROYAL, by Captain DUNCAN. These captains, dispatched from ENG-

* See *Berkeley's Voyage*.

LAND in the month of September in the year 1786, had begun by establishing, to the south of AMERICA ON STATEN LAND which forms, with TIERRA DEL FUEGO, the Strait of LE MAIRE, a factory for the purpose of collecting seal-skins and extracting oil from their flesh. Having accomplished this business, they made the best of their way to NOOTKA Sound, without touching at any other place*.

I know of no particular account of the voyage of these two vessels; but DIXON, in one of his polemical works directed against Captain MEARES, has printed a letter which was written by Captain DUNCAN, dated ISLINGTON the 17th of January 1791, and in which the latter himself marks his track and mentions the surveys which he made of the east coast of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, and of the coast of the opposite continent.

The PRINCE OF WALES, commanded by COLNETT, and the PRINCESS ROYAL by DUNCAN, after having passed the winter of 1787, at the SANDWICH Islands, returned to the coast in the summer; and, on the 31st of March 1788, DUNCAN being bound to the southern parts, anchored in NOOTKA Sound, while COLNETT directed his course to PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, in order to trade there and in the other parts to the NORTHWARD.

* *Dixon's Voyage*, pages xx. and ccxxxii. — And *Meares's Voyages*, page lv.

On recapitulating the various operations of Captain DUNCAN, it appears that he anchored and traded in several harbours of the east coast of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, that he followed these islands, examined and visited them, from the latitude of 52° to 54° .

From this parallel, he crossed the channel which separates these first-mentioned islands from the continent, and proceeded to some other islands, situated to the eastward, which he named PRINCESS ROYAL'S Islands, and which occupy, in a body, the space comprised between 54 and 51 degrees. This archipelago affords, among the numerous islands of which it is composed, bays, harbours, openings, inlets, and passages, a part of which Captain DUNCAN examined; in *nineteen* of which he anchored, not without being frequently exposed to the danger of losing his vessel; and where an abundant trade indemnified him for his fatigues, and made him forget the risks which he had run. He coasted these islands to the parallel where the archipelago terminates.

He then returned to NOOTKA Sound which COLNETT had fixed for the place of rendezvous: but the PRINCE OF WALES not arriving, DUNCAN put to sea again. He continued to run down the coast, anchored off a village called AHOUSSETT, and his route to the southward brought him to the parallel of FUCA'S Strait or Inlet, the latitude of which he fixes at $48^{\circ} 30'$. He anchored on the

the south coast of the Strait off a village called CLAASIT or CLAASET*, and there traded. On quitting it, he pushed his surveys as far as the forty-seventh parallel; and, in this latitude, he quitted the coast in order to repair to the SANDWICH Islands whence he was to take his route for CHINA.

Captain DIXON† makes mention of a Plan of FUCA's Strait, dated the 15th of August 1788, drawn by *Charles Duncan, Master in the Royal Navy*, which Mr. ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE caused to be engraved, and which he published on the 14th of January 1790. In it is seen the

* It may be remarked that the names of the two villages situated on this part of the coast, as they are mentioned by *Duncan, Abouset* and *Glaaset*, have terminations which appear incongruous, if we compare them with the ordinary final letters of the words and names with which we are acquainted in some of the languages spoken on the north-west coast; but they remind us of the names which are to be met with in *Fuente's* narrative (farther back, pages xxviii to xxxi) the towns of *Conoffet* and *Minbanfet*, the peninsula of *Conibassfet*, *Bassfet* Island. This affinity, I should say even this resemblance of names, may prove that those which are mentioned in *Fuente's* narrative have not been *invented*: but the discovery of this admiral, his Archipelago of *San Lazaro*, and his River of *Los Reyes*, are indicated towards the latitude of 53° ; and this parallel is comprised between that of 54° and that of 51° , the interval of which is occupied by the *Princede Royals* Archipelago of *Duncan*. I shall not, however, thence conclude that *Conoffet* and *Minbanfet* are *large towns*, as is expressed in the narrative which enlarges every thing: but I think that it may thence be concluded that these names are *country names*, and that *Fuente*, who mentions them, had visited the country.

† *Further Remarks.*

anchorage

anchorage of the PRINCESS ROYAL in the Strait which is no more than fourteen miles in width.

Captain DUNCAN had communicated to Captain MEARES the Chart of his voyage; but he complains that the latter has not given with accuracy what it represented. I know not whether this chart have been published in ENGLAND; but it is difficult, or rather it is impossible to apply to that of MEARES what DUNCAN sets forth in his journal; according to him, his PRINCESS ROYAL's Archipelago, beginning, to the northward, in the latitude of 54° , terminates, to the southward, in 51° . On MEARES's Chart, a large archipelago extends from $56^{\circ} 30'$ as far as $48^{\circ} 30'$, that is, to FUCA's Strait which terminates it to the southward. This large archipelago, of which the NOOTKA Sound of COOK, and BERKELEY Sound occupy the south part, there bears the name of NORTHERN ARCHIPELAGO; and, towards the middle of its west coast, is seen a small archipelago wedged into the large one, under the name of PRINCESS ROYAL ISLANDS. Mr. MEARES says that "The year 1788 was productive of connecting, in some measure, the detached and separate discoveries of the preceding years." They are connected, indeed, on his Chart, and we might require that they should there appear more distinct. "There were then on the coast," continues he, "the ships PRINCE OF WALES and PRINCESS ROYAL, the FELICE, the IPHIGENIA, English, " COLUMBIA

"COLUMBIA and WASHINGTON, belonging to the UNITED STATES; who each contributed her share towards completing the charts of the North-western parts of the world which are attached to this volume*." One of the Charts that Mr. MEARES means, no doubt, is the general chart which he has prefixed to the account of his voyages: we there see clearly what parts, in general, have been discovered, or rather found again; and we may thence conclude that the coast is nearly known: but the Chart leaves every thing to be wished for respecting the details. In order to be better acquainted with the borders of this country, towards which Europeans have proceeded with so much ardour, we must wait till an able hand, collecting all the scattered pieces, and, after having separately submitted them to the laws of criticism, arranges them, assorting them, and presents to us a general chart in which each of the particular discoverers may recognize and distinguish what belongs to him, and enjoy with honour, and without contestation, the merit of his researches and the fruit of his labours†.

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* *Meares's Voyages*, page lv.

† We conceive from the quotations which are to be met with in the journals of Captains *Dixon* and *Meares* and in their polemical writings, that most of the English navigators who have frequented the north-west coast of *America* have constructed, of the parts which they have had an opportunity of visiting, charts that do not appear to have been published at the time; but perhaps they are published at this day. *Dixon* says, in the *Introduction* of his journal, that in constructing the chart on which

The PRINCESS ROYAL's Islands are evidently the same that LA PÉROUSE had sight of in 1786, in the same gulf, and in the same parallels of 52° and 53° in which DUNCAN found them; and their latitude admits not of a doubt of its being that same archipelago situated in 53° , in the winding channels of which Admiral DE FUENTE navigated with his boats sounding ahead. We are therefore now certain that the Archipelago of SAN LAZARO is no longer to be reckoned among the imaginary islands, and that LA PÉROUSE, in 1786, and DUNCAN, in 1788, have found again a part of the discoveries of the Spanish admiral: thence it must not be concluded, no doubt, that every thing is true in FUENTE's narrative; but it is sufficiently so to induce navigators to make fresh attempts that may at length tend to verify what there may still be real in the account of a voyage in which all appeared extraordinary, wonderful, and incredible.

which he has marked his two tracks, he has made use of that of Captain *Guise*, commander of the snow *Experiment*, of that of Captain *Hanna*, commander of the snow *Sea-Otter*, and of that of Captain *Berkeley*, commander of the *Imperial Eagle*. Captain *Meares* who has consulted the same charts and made use of them, regrets infinitely that of *Colnett*, of which the Spaniards took possession when that captain was made prisoner. Captain *Duncan*, in his letter to *Dixon*, speaks of the chart which he himself constructed, and which, he says, had been copied partly into that of Captain *Meares*, &c.

Captain

Captain MEARES who, in 1786, had made a first voyage to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, undertook a second in 1788, with the ship FELICE of 230 tons, which he commanded, and IPHIGENIA of 200 tons, commanded by Captain DOUGLAS. He set sail from CHINA in the month of January of this year, and towards the middle of May, arrived at NOOTKA Sound where he built a small vessel: this operation required as much time as it experienced difficulty; but the exertions, the resources, and the perseverance of the chief of the enterprise, were crowned by a success that justified him for having conceived it possible.

In 1789, MEARES visited the part of the coast which is situated to the southward of NOOTKA; he discovered some harbours which had not yet received European ships, and wished to ascertain the existence of the large Strait of FUCA already found again, in 1787, by Captain BERKELEY, and in which Captain DUNCAN, in 1788, had anchored and traded with the natives. MEARES caused it to be visited by his long-boat. "She had failed," says he, "*near thirty leagues* up the Strait, and at that distance from the sea it was about fifteen leagues broad", with a clear horizon

* Meares's long-boat, according to his narrative, had failed *near thirty leagues* up the Strait, or to the eastward of its west mouth; and as, from the point which she had reached, the view extended to the east for *fifteen leagues* more, it would thence

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"zon stretching to the east for *fifteen leagues* more*." The long-boat had a rather warm engagement with the Americans who inhabit the borders of the channel; which did not prevent

thence result that she would have discovered a space of *forty-five leagues of sea*, beyond which no continent had yet been perceived.

It appears that Captain *Meares* forgot himself, when he says, in his narrative, that his long-boat had sailed near *thirty leagues* up the Strait, for we read in the account given him by *Robert Duffin*, the officer commanding the long-boat in this expedition, and which is printed at the end of the narrative (*appendix No. IV. Copy of Mr. Duffin's Journal*) that when he relinquished his researches in the Strait, he was at the distance of *eight leagues* from the *west* mouth, which bore from him west-south-west, and *three leagues* from a harbour which he named *Port Hawksey*, and which bore from him north by east; now, as this harbour is the most eastern point that the boat had reached, and as it is distant only *eleven leagues* (*eight* on the one hand, and *three* on the other) from the *West* mouth, it thence results that the long-boat had proceeded in the Strait, from *East* to *West*, only these same *eleven leagues*.

As for the *clear horizon stretching to the east for fifteen leagues*, which Captain *Meares* supposes the long-boat must have at the point to which her course towards the east was limited, we may observe to him, with Captain *Dixon* (*Further Remarks*, page 48), that "as his people never landed, they must have seen these forty-five miles to the eastward, *out of the boat*;" but I cannot find it possible, to see from a boat like her any thing near that distance; for no mode of calculation that I know of, where the height of the eye could not be above seven or eight feet, will, after allowing for refraction, give the distance to be seen in the horizon, more than six miles.

* This width of fifteen leagues, or *forty-five miles*, is very different from that of *fourteen miles* given it by the plan constructed by Captain *Duncan*. (Farther back, page cxxxviii.)

the

the English, according to a law which may be that of convenience, but which, no doubt, they will not call the Law of Nations, from taking possession, in the name of the King of ENGLAND, of a country which most assuredly the proprietors did not appear disposed to share with his Britannic Majesty. It is probable that JUAN DE FUCA, at a more remote period, had likewise taken possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty: and to all these acts of taking possession by foreign sovereigns, there is no more wanting but the ratification by the natural sovereign, the proprietor.

The IPHIGENIA, commanded by Captain DOUGLAS, which had separated from the FELICE during the run from CHINA to the NORTH-WEST coast, had at first proceeded to Cook's River, and thence to PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound, and had traded for furs in both those harbours. She had then again run down the coast, and visited on her route some ports which were not yet known, one, among others, towards the latitude of 55° , on which Captain DOUGLAS imposed the name of Port MEARES. This harbour is situated on the northern side of the Strait, which, to the northward, separates from the continent the lands discovered, in 1786, by LA PÉROUSE, and called, in the English charts, QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands: it appears that Captain DOUGLAS is the first known navigator who passed through this Strait, and thus penetrated, by the north side, into the gulf or chan-

nel which is situated between the islands to the west and the Archipelago of SAN LAZARO *. DOUGLAS ranged along this channel throughout its whole length, without ever ceasing to see the land on both sides, and he ran down as far as NOOTKA Sound, where he rejoined Captain MEARES.

The two ships carried to CANTON the furs which had been procured on the different parts of the coast that they had visited †.

Since a part of NORTH AMERICA had shaken off the yoke of ENGLAND, and had formed a federative Republic, her commerce disengaged from the bonds that fettered its operations, had acquired an extension to which she was not allowed to aspire as long as she was in the dependency of an European mother country, whose privileged companies impeded, in both hemispheres, every circulation contrary to the concentrated interests of monopoly. The liberty of this new Republic was scarcely secured, before she thought of directing her speculations towards INDIA and CHINA. But neither the productions of her soil, nor the produce of her industry, afforded her an aliment for a traffic with the Chinese; and silver and gold, which makes up for the deficiency of every sort

* Captain Dixon lays claim to being the *first who*, at the distance of 34 miles, *saw* this passage to the north of *Queen Charlotte's Islands*; but, at the same time, he appears to admit that *Douglas is the first who passed through it*. (See *Further Remarks*, page 48.)

† See *Meares's Voyages*, page lxij.

of commodity and merchandise in trade with that people, were yet too scarce in a rising Republic, for her to be able, without prejudicing her other operations and her engagements with her creditors of EUROPE, to divert from the insufficient mass of her currency the capitals necessary for maintaining an active trade with CHINA: furs might serve in lieu: and the attention of the American congress was ready in aiming at a resource which was to supply the want or the insufficiency of other means. But those articles of barter, although placed near the UNITED STATES, and, in a manner, under their hand, if we compare the little distance at which they are from them, with that at which the nations of EUROPE yet remain separated by a barrier hitherto insurmountable; and what Nature seems to present to them five hundred leagues from their west frontiers, a voyage of upwards of five thousand leagues is necessary for them to succeed in procuring. This difficulty could not stop the Americans: those very men who, since their active industry is no longer enchained by the exclusive privilege of a SOUTH-SEA COMPANY, go and harpoon the whale on the coast of BRASIL, and in the frozen tracks of the ANTARCTIC SEAS, have not hesitated to undertake voyages in which, ranging twice along the continent of the NEW WORLD, from North to South, and from South to North, they seek in the highest latitudes on the west coast of their AMERICA, and convey to its east coast, those valuable

valuable skins which alone could procure them a supplementary mean of opening a lucrative trade with the empire of CHINA. Depots of peltry, formed in their ports, and afterwards distributed among their ships which are employed in the expeditions to ASIA, give them in return, both teas of which habit has made a want to which perhaps they owe their liberty, and those rich INDIA goods which republican simplicity scarcely allows of, but which, being necessary to the luxury of EUROPE and of her western colonies, become, in the trade of the Americans, articles of barter against commodities of real necessity which Nature has refused to their climate.

It is probable that the ship-owners of the UNITED STATES, excited and encouraged by their government, have multiplied their expeditions to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; but no printed account has made known to EUROPE the voyages that they have undertaken. Hitherto, the Americans act more than they write; let us wish, for the tranquillity of the world and the happiness of the human race, that the faculty of communicating our thoughts from pole to pole, may ever be in their hands only a mean of uniting and enlightening mankind, and that they may, at no time, abuse it for the purpose of agitating the passions and overthrowing empires.

Captain MEARES has, in the Journal of his voyages, given us an account of the first expedition

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which the UNITED STATES directed to the NORTH-WEST coast : and as it has procured some discoveries, it deserves to be mentioned *.

The first vessels that the UNITED STATES dispatched from BOSTON in the month of August 1787, were the sloop WASHINGTON, of about one hundred tons burden, and the COLUMBIA, a ship of 300 tons, both under the command of Mr. GREY, who was on board of the sloop. These two vessels were to keep company with each other, but a gale of wind having separated them in the latitude of 59° south, the WASHINGTON arrived alone at NOOTKA, on the 17th of September, 1788 †. Captain GREY had put into a harbour on the coast of DRAKE'S NEW ALBION, towards the latitude of 45° north, where his sloop got on shore, and was in danger of being lost on the bar that runs across the entrance of this harbour which can admit none but vessels of a very small draught of water : the sloop was attacked by the natives of the coast ; one of his people was killed ; one of his officers was wounded ; and the captain thought

* Mr. Meares had these details from Mr. Grey himself, commander of the expedition. (See *Meares's Voyages*, page 219.)

† A passage of a year ! This is going very far for skins of animals, for an inhabitant of North America where they abound ! The Americans no doubt have experienced that the furs of the part which they occupy on the continent, and of the parts bordering on it, are not in much estimation at China, and do not procure a profit so considerable as that which may be expected from the peltry of the North-west coast.

himself

himself fortunate in having been able to save his vessel.

Captain MEARES became acquainted with the American captain at NOOTKA Sound, and was eager to impart to him the discovery, or rather the survey which, by means of his long-boat, he had made of the inlet or strait of JUAN DE FUCA, towards the latitude of $48^{\circ} 30'$.

"The WASHINGTON," says Mr. MEARES, "entered the Straits of FUCA, the knowledge of which she had received from us; and, penetrating up them, entered into an *extensive sea*, where she steered to the northward and eastward, and had communication with the various tribes who inhabit the shores of the various islands that are situated at the back of NOOTKA Sound, and speak, with some little variation, the language of the Nootkan people.

"The most easterly direction of the WASHINGTON's course," continues Mr. MEARES, "is to the longitude of 237° east of GREENWICH (or $125^{\circ} 20'$ west from PARIS). It is probable, however, that the master of that vessel (Mr. GREY) did not make any astronomical observations to give just data of that station; but as we have those made by Captain Cook at NOOTKA Sound, we may be able to form a conjecture somewhat approaching the truth, concerning the distance between NOOTKA and the easternmost station of the WASHINGTON in

" the northern archipelago; and, consequently,
 " this station may be presumed to be in the longi-
 " tude, or thereabouts, of 237° east of GREEN-
 " WICH*."

As the astronomical observations, made in Cap-
 tain COOK's third voyage, place NOOTKA Sound,
 in $233^{\circ} 18' 30''$ east from GREENWICH†, it thence
 results that Mr. MEARES has supposed that the
 track of the sloop WASHINGTON must have passed
 about $3^{\circ} 40'$, or 47 leagues to the eastward of
 NOOTKA. He says, besides, that he offers " the
 " proofs brought by the WASHINGTON, which
 " sailed through a sea that extends upwards of
 " eight degrees of latitude‡."

If we cast our eyes on the chart which is prefixed
 to the account of MEARES's Voyages, and on
 which he has represented the discovery of the
 WASHINGTON, we see, in setting out from FUCA's
 Strait, and ascending to the north-ward, a large
 archipelago which he distinguishes by the name
 of NORTHERN ARCHIPELAGO, and which extends
 between the latitude of $48^{\circ} 30'$, and $56^{\circ} 30'$, on
 a mean breadth of about 50 leagues: and towards
 53° , are seen Captain DUNCAN's PRINCESS ROY-
 AL's Islands or FUENTE' Archipelago of SAN

* See Meares's Voyages, page lvi.

† See The original Astronomical Observations made in the
 course of a Voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean. By W. Bayly.
 London. 1782. 4to. page 349.

‡ See Meares's Voyages, page lxii.

LAZARO, wedged into the large archipelago. To the eastward of this assemblage of numberless islands, some of which are wholly delineated, and the greater part merely indicated by openings, ought to be marked the track of the WASHINGTON; and, at a great distance from this track, ought to be seen the great lands of the continent; so that, between those lands and the archipelago, is a sea or an immense basin, into which a vessel may enter by all the passages or channels that the islands must leave between them. Mr. MEARES does not say whether the WASHINGTON, after having entered this sea on its south side, by FUCA'S Strait, came out of it by some one of the openings that are seen in the north part of the archipelago, or whether she came out of it by the same strait by which she had penetrated into it.

I shall not undertake to discuss here the report on which this great discovery is founded: the data are too doubtful, the explanation is too imperfect for us to be able to submit it to investigation, and examine it according to the rules of criticism. I shall content myself with observing that the narrative and the charts of Captain MEARES appeared in LONDON as far back as 1790, and that, nevertheless, the English geographer ARROWSMITH, who has carefully laid down on his large Planisphere, which he did not publish till 1794, all the discoveries prior to that period, has not there indicated this *interior sea* in which the WASHINGTON must have proceeded at

least *one hundred and sixty leagues* from south to north, since she "sailed through a sea," says Captain MEARES, "that extends upwards of *eight degrees* in latitude:" we merely see on the new Planisphere, the Archipelago of SAN LAZARO under the name of PRINCESS ROYAL'S Islands which DUNCAN has given it; and to the westward of this archipelago, at a mean distance of about twenty leagues, the large lands which LA PÉROUSE discovered and ranged along, in 1786, between 52 and 54 degrees, and which DIXON who reconnoitred them in 1787, has called QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, from the name of his vessel. I shall not believe that ARROWSMITH has neglected to indicate the discovery of the WASHINGTON because it belongs to a captain of the UNITED STATES; I shall much rather believe that it has not appeared to him ascertained in a manner sufficiently authentic, to determine him to adopt and employ it, before the researches of other navigators, and especially of some English navigator, may have confirmed the existence and the extent of this large *interior sea*, which (*if it exist*) might one day lead to discoveries of a greater importance, and perhaps open, or at least facilitate, the communication so much wished-for, so much sought, between the two oceans which embrace the New World*.

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* This track of the *Washington* in a large interior sea to the eastward of *Fuente's* archipelago of *San Lazaro*, well deserved an observation on the part of Captain *Dixon* in his polemical

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The Possessors of MEXICO, that empire so near the lands which ships from EUROPE came to reconnoitre and visit from such great distances, with the view of establishing there a lucrative trade, are now going to re-appear for a moment on the stage; but it will be to make a sudden and unexpected appearance, rather than to enrich us by new discoveries.

lemical war with Captain *Meares*: accordingly he says to him, "Be so good, Mr. *Meares*, as to inform the public from what authority you introduce this track in your chart?" (*Remarks on Meares's Voyages*, page 22.)

Mr *Meares*, thus summoned and challenged to answer, replied: but I will not take the liberty of commenting on his answer, I ought to confine myself to a literal transcript of it:

"You desire me to inform the public," says he, "on what authority I have introduced the track of the *Washington* into my chart; and, from that respect which is due to the public, I shall condescend to comply with your request. Mr. *Neville*, a gentleman of the most respectable character, who came home in the *Chesterfield*, a ship in the service of the *East-India Company*, made that communication to me; which, on his authority, I have communicated to the public. Mr. *Kendrick*, who commanded the *Washington*, arrived at *China*, with a very valuable cargo of furs, some time previous to the departure of the *Chesterfield*; and Mr. *Neville*, who was continually with him during that interval, and received the particulars of the track from him, was so obliging as to state it to me." (*An Answer to Mr. George Dixon, &c.* page 14.)

In the declaration which has just been presented to the reader, we remark that the Captain of the *Washington* is called Mr. *Kendrick*; and he is under the name of Mr. *Grey* in *Meares's Journal*, page 219: we are ignorant of the reason of this change of name: was Mr. *Grey* dead? And had Mr. *Kendrick* succeeded him in the command of the *Washington*, at the period when this vessel arrived at *China*?

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The survey which Captain Cook had made, in 1778, of a great part of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, informed the Spaniards that, on several points situated in high latitudes, the Russians of KAMTSCHATKA had formed, both on the continent, and in the islands which are detached from it, fixed settlements which supported their fur-trade with the empire of CHINA. Thus two nations placed at the extremities of ASIA and EUROPE seemed to dispute with the proprietors of the treasures of the New World, that property, claimed as exclusive, of an immense coast, the long-unknown border of their possessions, with which they appeared not to endeavour to be acquainted, in hopes of concealing the knowledge of it from their dangerous rivals. The Russians, on the one hand, and on the other, the English, were aiming at the same object; the former, with the advantage of proximity; the latter, with that of great experience in navigation and trade, and with that spirit of enterprise the ardour of which distance and danger cannot damp, when the term of the career presents the allurements of profit. But when SPAIN was assured that the Russians, accustomed to brave the ice of the North, and the English, habituated to face all climates, had either already established themselves on the continent, or were projecting to form settlements there, she determined to give orders for an expedition the object of which should be

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be to ascertain what the former had already been able to execute, and what the latter might undertake*.

The frigate *LA PRINCESA* and the packet *EL SAN CARLOS*† were fitted out in the port of *SAN BLAS*, and sailed thence on the 24th of January 1788.

DON ESTEVAN JOSEPH MARTINEZ, Pilot of the class of the first Pilots of the Navy, with the rank of officer, commanded the expedition, and had under his orders *DON HARO*, who held the rank of ensign of a frigate.

The two vessels sailed in company as far as *PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound*, in the latitude of 60° : here a misunderstanding broke out between the two captains which reigned during the whole voyage. From *PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound*, they came back to *LA TRINIDAD*, in $41^{\circ} 7'$; but, on leaving this port, *DON MARTINEZ* was separated from the packet, either through design or accident, and repaired to the harbour of the Island of *COONALASKA*, in the latitude of 54° ; while

* I take the account of the two new voyages of the Spaniards, from two original letters, the one from *San Blas*, dated 30th October 1788, the other from the city of *Mexico*, 28th August 1789; they were addressed officially to the Minister of the Marine, by the consul of *France* in one of the ports of *Spain*, on the 24th of February 1789 and the 12th of January 1790.

† According to one of the letters, and, according to the other, *El Philipino*.

Don

DON HARO visited the coast, and touched at a port of both the name and latitude* of which we are equally ignorant, and where the Russians have a settlement. The Spaniards were received there in a very friendly manner, and the commander of the post or factory carried his confidence so far as to make a present to DON HARO of a chart, on a large scale, of all the settlements which RUSSIA possessed on this coast, and which, at that period were eight in number: he gave him, besides, every information that he could wish for respecting this part little known of NORTH AMERICA.

In the sequel, DON HARO rejoined DON MARTINEZ at OONALASKA: but the misunderstanding still subsisting, he availed himself of a gale of wind that drove the PRINCESSA to sea, to render himself independent; and, towards the middle of October, he re-entered the port of SAN BLAS, where DON MARTINEZ did not arrive till the 3d of November following.

This expedition all the honour of which the letters from MEXICO, complaining of the commander, attributed to the second in command, produced no discovery: the letters from SAN BLAS, written on the arrival of DON HARO, merely inform us that at that period, the Russians had already eight

* It appears that this port is situated between 58 and 59 degrees.

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fixed settlements on the coast between the latitude of 58 and 59 degrees *; that each of the settlements was composed of from sixteen to twenty families, forming a total of 462 Russians; that the strangers had succeeded in habituating to their customs and manners 600 of the natives of the country, and that they received a tribute from them for the Emperors of RUSSIA. It appears that, independently of these eight settlements, the Spaniards, who are said to have gone, in this voyage, as high as the sixty-second parallel †, found in the latitude of 59° three other Russian tribes, but not near so numerous as those which occupy the parts of the coast less northerly. They assert that the settlement of the Russians on the coast was made in 1770; that their

* In the letter from *San Blas*, it is mentioned that the settlements are situated between 48 and 49 degrees; but it is either a fault of the copy, or it is by design that the latitudes have been improperly indicated. It is certain that the Russians have no settlement to the southward of *Nootka Sound*, which is between 49° and 50°: the coast which extends to the southward of this bay has been so carefully visited by the English, and that repeatedly, that a settlement belonging to a civilized nation, would not have escaped their researches; and they would have spoken of it: their silence respecting this important fact may be considered as a proof that no settlement of this nature existed at the period of 1788: those of the Russians cannot be lower than 58°.

† It does not appear that they went beyond *Oona'aska*; and yet, for them to have gone as high as 62° they must have crossed the chain of the *Aleutian* islands, and ascended into the great *North Basin* (Arctic Sea) between *Asia* and *America* which is terminated by *Bering's Strait*.

trade

trade with the Americans is of little importance, and consists only of wolf-skins and boots of smooth or tanned skin, for which the natives receive in exchange, trowsers, cloth, and a few bottles of brandy.

The Spaniards who had been employed in this expedition, complained of having experienced an excessive cold during their fourteen days stay at OONALASKA, in the month of July *.

The only discovery which they made in the course of their voyage, and which must have appeared of great importance to the Spanish government, is that they gathered from their conversations with the Russians, that the governor of KAMTSCHATKA, in whose dependency the colony of OONALASKA lies, intended to give immediate orders for occupying, in the name of the Empress of RUSSIA, the port of NOOTKA which the Spaniards call SAN LORENZO, situated in the latitude of $49^{\circ} 36'$, on the coasts which since others have discovered them, it has pleased the latter to call LA NUEVA CALIFORNIA †; we shall not, however,

* If, as is said, they had gone as high as 62° , it is probable that they would have spoken of the cold that they must have experienced there, greater, no doubt, than at Oonalaska, the harbour of which is only in $53^{\circ} 55'$.

† This pretended project of the Russians appears by no means probable. We may doubt that they wished to come and enter into competition, for the fur-trade, with the English and the Americans of the *United States*: the more northern parts of the coast seem, in every respect, likely to be more convenient to them.

believe

believe that this CALIFORNIA was so *new* to them ; only, it is probable that they were not acquainted with it so well as the navigators of other nations have since made it known to them.

The project, either real or supposed, of a settlement of the Russians at NOOTKA Sound, and still more, we may presume, the uneasiness that was kept up in the mind of the government by the habitual presence of the English on coasts which, from the first discovery made by their Admiral DRAKE, in 1578, to these latter times, they had not frequented, determined DON MANUEL ANTONIO FLOREZ, Viceroy of MEXICO, to cause to be occupied, in the name of His Catholic Majesty, the port of NOOTKA, under the name of PUERTO DE SAN LORENZO, which the Spaniards declare to be an integral part of their NORTH AMERICA, a domain of the crown. He ordered an armament for the execution of this plan, LA PRINCESA and LA QUERIDA, after having been properly equipped and provided with every thing that could appear necessary or merely useful for forming a fixed settlement, were dispatched from the port of SAN BLAS in the beginning of March 1789, under the command of DON MARTINEZ to whom this fresh mark of confidence of the government was a proof of the satisfaction that they had had from his conduct in the expedition of 1788 ; and in the month of April following, the LORENZAZU packet, laden with a supplement of provi-

sions and military stores, sailed from the same harbour with the same destination.

The two frigates being separated, a little time after their departure, by a violent gale of wind, arrived at NOOTKA SAN LORENZO within a week of each other. Four vessels were then riding in the harbour; two from BOSTON, one of which was a frigate, and the other a bilander belonging to General WASHINGTON, both provided with a commission from the UNITED STATES for making a voyage round the world; the third a Portuguese, and the fourth an Englishman, both come from MACOA, and provided with passports issued by the governor of that place, for trading for furs on the NORTH-WEST coast. DON MARTINEZ hesitated as to the conduct to be pursued in regard to the four vessels: the two Americans not appearing to him deserving of suspicion, he left them at liberty, and he stopped the two others; but, shortly after, the Portuguese was released: the Englishman alone was declared a good prize.

After this first stroke of authority, this first act of sovereignty, he proceeded without delay to accomplish the object of his mission; he caused wooden dwellings and storehouses to be built, and erected, at the entrance of the harbour, a battery of cannon, covered by a parapet the approach to which was defended by a palisade.

While the Spaniards were carrying on with ardour the works ordered, a vessel appeared at the mouth

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mouth of the harbour: Don MARTINEZ suffered her to enter it; but scarcely was her anchor let go, before the Spanish long-boats, manned and armed, boarded the vessel and took possession of her. The captain produced his pass-port and his commission, by which he proved that the ship came direct from LONDON, and that she belonged to a trading company, duly authorised to form at NOOTKA a fixed settlement: he was bearer of an order for preparing habitations for the English colonists, who were to be conveyed thither in the course of the year on board ships which he had left fitting out in the THAMES. These papers which the English captain made the most of as lawful titles, the Spanish commandant regarded as documents of condemnation; he ordered that the vessel should be manned as a prize, caused the Spanish colours to be hoisted over the English *Jack*, and dispatched her to SAN BLAS where she arrived about the middle of August. MARTINEZ considered the Port of SAN LORENZO where he came to establish himself, as a possession of SPAIN; and, from that moment, the law of prohibition existed for this harbour as well as for all those of the Spanish domination in both AMERICAS: the English ship arriving from LONDON, and even that which was found at anchor in the harbour before the act of taking possession, were likewise seized and confiscated, as smugglers. But the Portuguese vessel, but the two vessels from BOSTON, how do they

escape the law? How happens it that they are not smugglers? The letters from MEXICO do not explain the motive of this difference in the proceedings; and, no doubt, the explanation given of it by the English will not be admitted; they were not afraid, say they, of the competition of the Portuguese; her nullity saved her: as for the Bostonian vessels, the Spaniards were afraid of offending the UNITED STATES; they could not forget that those states border very close on the rich possessions of the crown of SPAIN in NORTH AMERICA*.

Discoveries were not more advanced by the expedition of 1789 than by that of the preceding year: policy and ambition directed both; and it seldom happens that their operations, either distinct or combined, procure any increase to our knowledge; it is more common to see them retard its progress. The act of sovereignty exercised at NOOTKA had well nigh kindled a war between ENGLAND and SPAIN. Each of the contending powers set forth, as is customary, pretended rights of property; on both sides, were invoked those ridiculous *acts of taking possession* from a ship's deck, by which a navigator, passing by, gives freely to his nation all the lands that present themselves to his view, when he thinks he is the first European who has discovered them: as if the men who already, and for a long time past, occupied these very

* *The Spanish Memorial of the 4th of June considered. By Alexander Dalrymple. London, 1790, 8vo.*

lands before an European saw them, had not over the new comers the priority of discovery, and what is more the right of possession, as if force could make usurpation lawful, and ever annihilate the universal and imprescriptible law of Nature and of nations! The quarrel grew warm between ENGLAND and SPAIN; both sides prepared to substitute the reason of arms to political discussion; and if FRANCE had not interfered in the dispute, by negotiations backed by her maritime armaments, a small portion of land, situated on the uncultivated coast of NORTH-WEST AMERICA, at the distance of six thousand leagues' sail from EUROPE, offering to the ambition of the conquerors nothing but rocks and forests, and to the avidity of commerce nothing but the skins of the wild beasts that share these solitudes, would have rekindled between the great powers of the continent, a destructive war which, step by step, would soon have set the two Worlds in a blaze.

A voyage of the Spaniards round the world had been announced under the most favourable auspices; every thing appeared disposed to procure us the greatest information respecting the different parts of the globe, and particularly the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA: this voyage, the direction of which was intrusted to the Chevalier de MALLASPINA, begun in 1790, has been terminated for some years past; but the publication of the journal, which was to take place soon after his

ship returned to the ports of SPAIN, may probably remain eternally forgotten and lost to EUROPE. MALESPINA, a little time after his return to CADIZ, arrested by order of the government and thrown into the prison of BUEN RETIRO, transferred since into one of the strong castles of CORUNNA, cannot now concern himself about a publication long expected, and which our journals have falsely announced. It is even well known that a Spanish friar, formerly confessor to the King, EL PADRO GIL, a man of letters, of uncommon merit, who neither has the prejudices, nor the ignorance with which, in SPAIN, men of his profession are, not without sufficient reason, reproached, and who had undertaken the compilation of the voyage, shared the disgrace of MALESPINA, and, separated from him, was, in like manner, shut up in a castle. All the papers, all the drawings belonging to this expedition, have been seized; and the botanists even, and the other men of science whom MALESPINA had engaged to accompany him in his voyage, in order to employ themselves in Natural History, and give the description of the animals, plants, minerals, and other productions of each country, have received positive orders to suspend their labour entirely, which is equivalent to orders to relinquish it. If, as some persons have imagined, the captivity of MALESPINA and of the compiler of his journals, is only the consequence of a court intrigue, we may hope that the effect will cease when

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when the cause shall be worn out : but if, as the known uneasiness of the Spanish government may occasion it to be feared, the prohibition of publishing the discoveries which this expedition promised is connected with motives of another kind, we must apprehend that the voyage of MALESPINA will be buried, with the other voyages of the Spaniards, in the dusty archives of some chancery, the access to which is forbidden to every one, and especially to the learned. I know that, in order to justify SPAIN from the reproach which has always been made her, of withholding every communication that might add to our knowledge respecting AMERICA, it will be said that, in 1788, she caused to be published a valuable extract from all the manuscripts which contained the voyages performed by the Spanish navigators to the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN from the period of the discovery * ; but I know too that she authorized this publication, only since the experience of the navigators of our age has proved that, in the favourable season, an open sea, to the southward of TIERRA DEL FUEGO, presents the facility, by doubling Cape HORN, of passing from the ATLANTIC into the GREAT OCEAN, in less time, and with less danger, than through the long and winding Strait of MAGEL-

* *Relacion del ultimo Viage al Estrecho de Magallanes, en los años de 1785 y 1786—Extracto de todos los anteriores, desde su descubrimiento, impresos y Ms Trabajados de Orden del Rey.—Madrid, 1788, Por la viuda de Ibarra, &c. &c.* with Charts.

LAN, the route of which, undoubtedly, in future, no navigator will be tempted to take. If, as has been a long time announced to us, SPAIN ever determine to open her archives to the learned of the nation, and to permit them to bring to light, in order to publish them, the accounts of her ancient navigators; such a publication will, doubtless, procure those bold adventurers, new claims to our admiration; but the Spanish government has no longer to rely on the claims which a less dilatory communication might have given them to our gratitude; SPAIN has nothing to teach of the countries which have been discovered a second time; on the contrary, the navigators of other nations will have taught the Spaniards themselves to find again, when they choose (which perhaps they would never have known how to do), the islands and lands the first discovery of which their negligence, or the fear of participation had rendered useless to them, since they had come to such a pass as to be themselves ignorant where those lands were situated. If some day the Spaniards can at length determine to publish the documents concealed in their archives, we shall believe them, no doubt, when they tell us that two centuries ago, they were acquainted with the islands and the countries which, in these latter times, others have discovered and made known to us, in the GREAT OCEAN, on the Continent of AMERICA, and elsewhere; but this confidence on our part can be only a measure of

of civility ; for we shall have no proof that what they will have the appearance of having known before us, what they shall tell us as having known far back, they shall not have borrowed from modern navigators foreign to their nation ; what they shall present to us as a sort of property which they shall support by an apparent title of a prior discovery, we shall be able to contest with them : whereas the voyagers of other countries, by hastening to publish on their return from their expeditions, while ocular witnesses can still contradict them, the ascertained discoveries with which they have increased the domain of man, in publishing without reserve, without concealment, all that they have discovered, have secured to themselves an incontestable property, the title of which the succession of time can never affect nor weaken.

I have just presented the summary of the various attempts that have been made in the course of two hundred and fifty years, for knowing that part of AMERICA which its distance from EUROPE, and the obscurity in which the policy of the first conquerors of the New World long strove to envelop it, have not been able to conceal eternally from the ambition and the enterprising activity of those of the nations of the Old Continent who, in the universality of their commerce, embrace the four quarters of the inhabited earth.

Let us concenter into one single point of view the periods and the objects of the discoveries.

CORTES, in order to emerge from the state of inaction to which he was condemned by the importance and lustre of his former services, gave himself up to maritime expeditions which might extend his conquests without successes so brilliant as the first awakening the suspicions and uneasiness of a too mistrustful ministry, ever ready to stop in their career the great men who served them too well: in 1537, the conqueror of MEXICO discovered CALIFORNIA and the VERMILION SEA.

In 1540, MENDOÇA, Viceroy of MEXICO, dispatched FRANCISCO ALARÇON to search to the westward for a pretended Strait of ANIAN, which was supposed to have been discovered, on the east side, by the Portuguese CORTEREAL. ALARÇON got no higher than the latitude of 36° , and made no discovery.

This same project was resumed in 1542, by RODRIGUES DE CABRILLO: the whole expedition was confined to perceiving a cape in the latitude of $41^{\circ} 30'$, and in naming it CAPO MENDOCINO in honour of the Viceroy MENDOÇA.

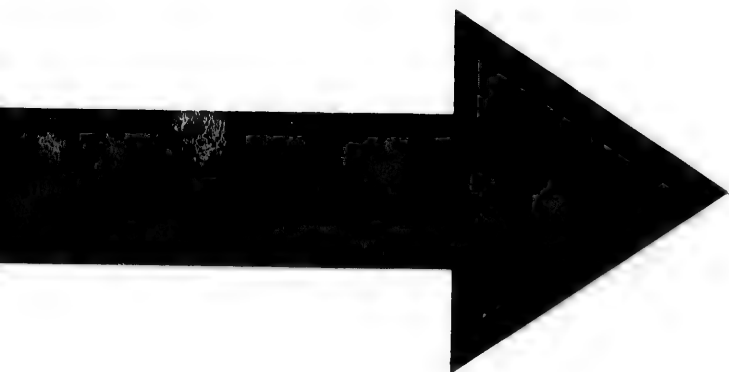
In 1578, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE came and informed the Spaniards, that, in the latitude of 48° , there existed lands and men: after having reconnoitred the coast for an extent of two hundred and twenty leagues, which terminates in 37° , he called the country which he had discovered New ALBION, and took possession of it in the name of ELIZABETH, Queen of ENGLAND.

In 1592, a Greek, **JUAN DE FUCA**, in the service of **SPAIN**, discovered, towards the 48th parallel, a large strait by which he pretended to have reached the **ATLANTIC OCEAN**; **FUCA's Strait**, or Inlet, has been found again in our days: but the communication of the two oceans is neither better proved, nor more probable, and might perhaps exist only in his account.

In 1602, the Spanish Admiral, **SEBASTIAN VISCAINO**, was charged to seek to the north of **CALIFORNIA**, a harbour that might afford an asylum to the galleons on their return from **MANILLA**: he discovered a commodious one, safe and well situated, in the latitude of $36^{\circ} 40'$, to which he gave the name of the Viceroy **MONTEREY**. It is asserted that a small vessel belonging to his squadron, commanded by **MARTIN DE AGUILAR**, found, between 40 and 44 degrees, the mouth of a great river which bears his name on the geographical maps.

In 1640, Admiral **BARTOLOMEO DE FUENTE** discovered, towards the parallel of 53° , the Archipelago of **SAN LAZARO**, the River of **LOS REYES**, some great lakes, &c. in short, an easy passage for communicating from the **GREAT OCEAN** to the **NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN**. This discovery, inserted in an account the authenticity of which has been contested, and in which truth is mingled and confounded with falsehood, has been confirmed by modern navigators, as to what regards





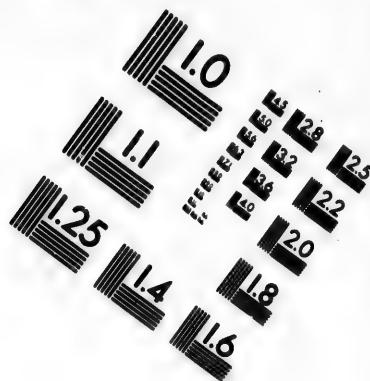
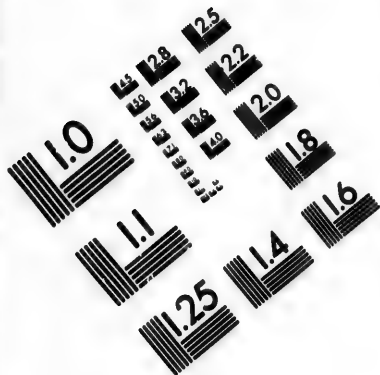
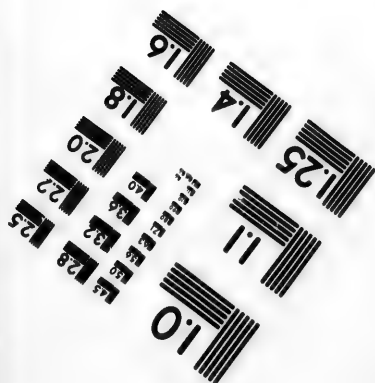
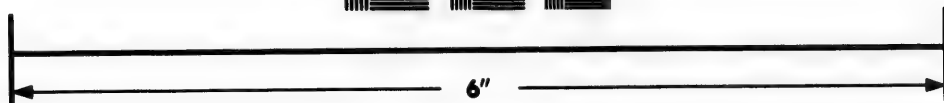
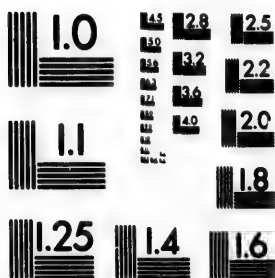


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regards the Archipelago of SAN LAZARO, and *perhaps* an interior sea ; but the communication of the two OCEANS is not better established than that which had been opened by JUAN DE FUCA ; this is the second volume of the romance.

During a whole century, the west coast of NORTH AMERICA was not visited by any of the nations by which it was conquered, or by any of those which have since been called thither by commerce. It was not till 1741, that BEERING and TCHIRIKOW, in the service of RUSSIA, discovered the NORTH-WEST coast ; the former, towards the 60th parallel ; the latter, towards the 56th.— Since that period, the discoveries of the Russians have extended, from the parallel of 56° to the most northern part of the WEST coast : and they have comprised in the surveys which they have made of it, the Peninsula of ALASKA, and the long chain of the ALEUTIAN Islands, which both belong to the Continent of AMERICA.

The spirit of discovery and the taste for expeditions to the North were revived among the Spaniards after a period of one hundred and sixty-seven years of lethargy. In 1769, vessels were dispatched from the Port of SAN BLAS, under the command of VICENTE VELA, in order to go and establish a *Presidio* at the harbour of SAN DIEGO, and another at that of MONTEREY ; but this expedition afforded no discovery : however, after a whole year of researches and fatigues, the Spaniards succeeded

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ceeded in finding again the harbour of MONTZREY, the latitude of which VISCAINO had indicated to them in 1602.

In 1775, a second expedition, under the direction of Don JUAN DE AYALA and of his pilot ANTONIO MAURELLE, advanced geography a step, and procured the discovery of some capes and of some bays or harbours between the forty-seventh and fifty-seventh parallels.

A third and a fourth voyage, in 1778 and 1779, added nothing to the discoveries; and the second afforded merely the certainty that the RUSSIANS had formed fixed settlements on several points of the high latitudes.

But, as far back as 1778, while the Spaniards were employed in a minute survey of their Port BUCARELLI, the first of navigators, Captain COOK, carried his talents, his experience, and his information towards the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; and EUROPE owes to his laborious researches, the first certain knowledge that she has had of the west part of the New World. After having discovered NOOTKA Sound towards the latitude of $49^{\circ} 40'$, and examined a few points above the 56th parallel, he discovered in 60° , PRINCE WILLIAM'S Sound and COOK'S River; he rounded the Peninsula of ALASKA, visited some of the ALEUTIAN Islands, and thence, getting into the highest latitudes that the ice permits navigators to reach, he blended his discoveries with those which the Russians

Russians had made since 1745. COOK's voyage made known to ENGLAND the new and valuable articles which those lands offered to her commerce; it shewed the possibility of rivaling the Russians in the fur-trade, and of sharing with them the great profits that may be obtained, in barter with the Empire of CHINA, by the skins of animals, the treasures of the forests of NORTH-WEST AMERICA; in short, he opened a new career to the ever-increasing activity of a nation whose commercial operations embrace the two hemispheres throughout the whole circumference of the globe.

LA PÉROUSE who sailed from the Port of BREST, in 1785, on a voyage of observations and discoveries round the World, directed his course, in 1786, towards the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, and there made the land on BEERING's Mount ST. ELIAS, in the latitude of 60° : he ranged along the lands of the continent for an extent of four hundred and seventy leagues, from that parallel to the harbour of MONTEREY situated in $36^{\circ} 40'$, and particularly applied himself to the examination of the parts of the coast from which Captain COOK had been repelled by contrary winds: he discovered a fine harbour in $58^{\circ} 40'$; some extensive lands detached from the continent, between 54 and 52° ; and to the eastward of those lands, Admiral DE FUENTE's Archipelago of SAN LAZARO. In the course of his surveys, he had verified and confirmed

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ed some of the discoveries of 1775, which the circumspect Spaniards had scarcely indicated.

The enormous profits which the two ships employed in Captain COOK's last voyage had made at CHINA on the furs that they had brought from the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, excited the speculations of the merchants and ship-owners; and expeditions were multiplied, in the interval from 1785 to 1789, under the direction of Captains HANNA, PETERS, LOWRIE, GUISE, MEARES, TIPPING, PORTLOCK, DIXON, BERKLEY, COLNETT, DUNCAN, DOUGLAS, GREY, and some Portuguese and Spaniards whose names and expeditions are unknown. It has been the province of the navigators of these latter times to have stripped the ancient discoveries of FUCA of the fables which had caused their reality to be doubted; to have connected them with each other; and to have brought us acquainted with a great number of excellent harbours, which are so many markets open to Europeans for the traffic of furs.

I do not recall to mind the last known voyage of the Spaniards to NOOTKA, in 1789: its object was not the improvement of geography, and has added nothing to our knowledge.

Why are we not, at the end of these discoveries, allowed to speak of those which must have been made in the more recent expedition of MALLASPINA? No doubt, they would have led the Spanish nation to share the honour of having

at length contributed to the description of the NORTH-WEST coast of that New World for the first knowledge of which we are indebted to the boldness of its early navigators. Let us hope, let us still hope that, if ever intrigue and policy which have confined in dungeons, both the voyager, and the compiler of the voyage, consent to restore them to light, EUROPE may at last enjoy the fruit of their labours; and that our riches in Geography, in Physics, and in Natural History, will be increased by all those which must have been obtained by an expedition in which the enlightened navigator who directed it, had at his disposal all the means that could render it useful.

Such were, in the year 1790, the notions which we had acquired respecting the west coasts of NORTH AMERICA. One French navigator alone, LA PÉROUSE, had concurred with those of SPAIN, ENGLAND, and of the UNITED STATES in improving the discovery of this part of the New World; and hitherto the merchants of FRANCE had not been able to engage in any undertaking for entering into competition with those of other nations in the fur-trade. It would, in fact, have been rash to embark, without a previous inquiry, in speculations which, in order to be realised, required that ships should sail round the world. Before they rushed into this new career, it was requisite that our merchants should have it in their power to procure data nearly certain which, on the

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the one hand, might enable them to form a plan as to the conduct to be held with the Americans of the NORTH-WEST coast, and as to the choice of the goods necessary for bartering with them; which, on the other, might afford them a glimpse of the profits that might be expected from the second barter to be made of the furs of AMERICA for the productions of CHINA; which, in short, might allow them to value, in a summary manner, the clear produce of the whole operation, when the ships should have effected their return to the ports of FRANCE. The NOOTKA-SOUND Company, formed in LONDON under the direction of Mr. CADMAN ETCHES, had, in the beginning, kept an interested silence in regard to the success of the expeditions of Captains PORTLOCK and DIXON, COLNETT, and DUNCAN; those of Captain MEARES and of other navigators, were not yet known, and the uncertainty respecting the fate of LA PÉROUSE had occasioned the publication of the results of his voyage to be suspended: it was still hoped that he might publish them himself. A fortunate chance procured our merchants and ship-owners the intelligence that was necessary to them for directing their operations. ETIENNE MARCHAND, a French Captain, on his return from BENGAL, in 1788, met with Captain PORTLOCK in the Road of ST. HELENA, and received from him every information that he could wish for concerning the trade of the NORTH-WEST coast, and the

the profits that might be expected from it, if a ship carried her cargo of furs to CHINA, and, having there met with an advantageous market for them, secured a cargo for her return to EUROPE.

Captain MARCHAND, on his arrival in the harbour of MARSEILLES, to which his ship belonged, communicated the information that he had procured, to the house of BAUX, who, proud of opening to their countrymen a new channel to the extension of trade and navigation, hesitated not to run the risks of a first attempt, and thought themselves paid beforehand, by the honour of being useful to their country, for the losses which they might experience in a first trial. But an expedition of a new kind, a voyage round the world, a navigation which, from the series of combined operations, would occupy three or four years, required great preparations, the employment of several manufactories for procuring the arms and the various utensils which merchants have not in store, and which are necessary for barter in the fur-trade, lastly, the construction of a ship capable of resisting for a long time the heavy seas which wash the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA. The house of BAUX gave immediate orders for the fabrication of all the articles of foreseen necessity or utility, and for the construction of a ship of 300 tons burden: in order to insure the preservation

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tion of the vessel in crossing the seas in warm latitudes, they caused her to be sheathed with copper and copper-fastened, and fitted her, in all points, in the manner that appeared to Captain MARCHAND the most suitable for those parts in which he was to navigate, and the ports where he might have occasion to stay. The ship was, besides, supplied with effects, merchandise, and provisions of all kinds, with which it was thought useful to provide her, as well for her defence in case of attack, and repairs in case of accident, as for facilitating the operations of trade, and for preserving the health of the crew in the course of a long and laborious navigation. As early as the month of June of the year 1790, every thing was prepared for the equipment of the ship; but the dispute which arose, at that period, between SPAIN and ENGLAND concerning the property of NOOTKA Sound, and the war which threatened both EUROPE and AMERICA, made it necessary to suspend the expedition. Fortunately, this political storm was not of long duration; and the project of the voyage was resumed with fresh ardour, as soon as peace between the sovereigns of EUROPE had restored calm to the two Worlds, and freedom to commerce.

Captain MARCHAND engaged to second him in his undertaking, Captains PIERRE MASSE and PROSPER CHANAL. The number of his officers was ten, including two surgeons and three volunteers,

teers, and his crew was composed of thirty-nine Persons: the total number of individuals employed in the expedition, reckoning the Captain, amounted to fifty *. The ship mounted four 4-pounders, two 6lb. howitzers, and four swivels, and was furnished with small arms and ammunition, in a quantity proportionate to the number of men and the artillery which she carried,

* OFFICERS.

Captain and Commander	<i>Etienne Marchand</i>	1
Second Captains	{ <i>Pierre Maffé</i> <i>Prosper Chanal</i> }	2
Lieutenants	{ <i>Louis Marchand</i> <i>Louis Infernet</i> <i>Hyacinthe Murat</i> }	3
Surgeons	{ <i>Claude Roblet</i> <i>Pierre Regner</i> }	2
Volunteers	{ <i>Etienne Cailhe</i> <i>Augustin Décany</i> <i>Amédée Chanal</i> }	3

Officers 11

SHIP'S COMPANY.

Boatswain,	<i>Jean Icard</i>	1
Petty Officers	—	3
Carpenters	—	2
Caulkers	—	2
Coopers	—	2
Armourer	—	1
Steward and Cooks	—	3
Baker	—	1
Furriers	—	2
Sailors and Boys	—	22

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The delay which circumstances, foreign to the expedition, had occasioned in the outfit, allowed not that the SOLIDE (this is the name which the ship had received) should be in a condition to undertake her voyage before the 12th of December. The summer of the austral hemisphere was far advanced, and no hopes were entertained of her reaching Cape Horn before the winter had begun in the Antarctic Seas; but the house of BAUX, justly relying on the skill of Captain MARCHAND, on the talents and experience of the Captains whom he had chosen to share his duties, on the zeal of the rest of his officers and the good will of the crew, determined to add a fresh risk, that of a compulsory and expensive stay in some port of BRAZIL, to all those that were already incurred by an expedition which promised the owners more public utility than personal emolument. Whatever has been the success of the speculation in a commercial point of view, there will always remain to the firm of BAUX, the merit and the honour of having been the first to embark in a new career, concerning which we had as yet none but borrowed notions; and we shall owe to their patriotism and to a disinterestedness of which there are few examples, the increase of knowledge that has been procured by their undertaking.

It has appeared to me the more interesting to make known, in all its circumstances, the voyage of Captain MARCHAND, as, independently of a discovery

covery not altogether unimportant in the GREAT OCEAN, of several new details respecting a part of NORTH-WEST AMERICA, hitherto imperfectly known, and of a great number of astronomical observations, calculated to improve the nautical art and geography, this voyage is the second *round the World* that has been performed by the French: hitherto BOUGAINVILLE had had in FRANCE no model, no imitator; jealous Fortune was not willing that our unfortunate countryman LA PÉROUSE should complete his course; and, no doubt, we shall not be tempted to inscribe in the list of the *Voyages round the World*, either that of GENTIL LA BARBINAIS, nor that of PAGÈS, which, being made partly by sea, but in a greater part by land, cannot be reckoned among the CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS of the Globe.

It has not been in my power to procure the identical journal of Captain MARCHAND: that estimable navigator, after having happily brought back the SOLIDE into one of our ports of the MEDITERRANEAN, took the command of another ship bound to the Isle of FRANCE, where he ended his days; and I am ignorant into whose hands his papers may have fallen. But if we have to regret the particular remarks which his own journal might contain, we may consider ourselves as indemnified by the possession of that of Captain CHANAL, who had been, during the course of the voyage, personally charged with all the surveys that were

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were made, whether of the islands discovered or visited in the GREAT OCEAN, or of the parts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; where the *SOLIDE* traded for furs. Captain MARCHAND and Captain CHANAL made to each other, daily, a reciprocal communication of their astronomical observations, and of the results which they had drawn from them; and both were inserted, according to their date, in Captain CHANAL's journal: the latter has, besides, added to his narrative the Plans of the Harbours and Coasts which he himself drew. This journal kept with method, and presenting, in the best order, all the incidents of the voyage, unites to the log-book, hourly transcribed, every particular relative to navigation, which the curious reader seeks and wishes to find in a sea-journal; and what is no less valuable, the simple and faithful exposition of every fact, and a picture, drawn from nature, of men and things, seen without prejudice and without system*.

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* My work was completed, when the principal Commissioner of the Navy, *Lefebvire*, had the goodness, on his return from the *Ile of France*, to communicate to me the observations which Surgeon *Roblet*, who at present exercises in that colony, the useful functions of officer of health, and who had been employed on board the *Solide* in the capacity of first Surgeon, had had an opportunity of collecting in the course of the Voyage round the World. As the work was not yet gone to press, I was in time to insert, in my manuscript, such of the observations of Surgeon *Roblet*, as relate to objects which might have escaped Captain *Chanal*, or to which he had

In the course of the work which I now publish, I shall frequently have occasion to point out with what advantage and success Captains MARCHAND and CHANAL made use of the observations of the moon's distance from the sun or stars, for determining the longitude of the ship: those distances were taken, at the same time, and separately, by the two captains, with reflecting sextants accurately adjusted: each observer calculated his own; and they admitted for the true longitude of the vessel, the result that was the mean between the mean results of their two sets of observations. It is by the help of this method, that Captain MARCHAND certain, as much as it is possible to be, of the true situation of the ship, could, by direct courses, shorten his runs, and make the land on the points

not given his attention. I have a real satisfaction in observing, but without being surprised at the circumstance, that the remarks which are common to them reciprocally confirm each other: and in the very rare cases in which they differ in matters of little importance, I have taken care to point out those differences. The observations of Surgeon *Robles* are those of an enlightened observer who joins a variety of information to that which is essentially connected with his profession, and who has found means to employ both with no less utility than success; the preservation of the crew of the *Salade*, with respect to their health, is due to the happy exertion of his talents and to the perseverance of his attention.

The remarks which are peculiar to him are presented under his name in the course of the narrative.

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where he wished to touch, with a precision of which, till now, we had no examples but in the voyages that had been undertaken, at the expense of governments, for the purpose of making discoveries, and improving geography, and in which the commanders of the expeditions employed the instruments and methods that, for half a century past, the Arts and Sciences have offered to the navigator for ascertaining his course in crossing the ocean. Captain MARCHAND frequently regretted not having been able, before his departure, to procure a time-piece or chronometer, which, by facilitating his astronomical operations, would likewise have served him for multiplying them under different forms. He made use of a good watch with a second hand for reducing to a same moment the lunar observations; but a chronometer would have furnished the mean of obtaining, in a direct manner, results of another sort; and the comparison of those which would have been obtained by the two methods, by two different proceedings, by reciprocally serving to verify and control each other, would have procured an additional certainty in the determination of the longitudes. Be this as it may, Captains MARCHAND and CHANAL found means to make an excellent use of the lunar method, the only one that was practicable with the instruments with which they were provided; and we cannot too strongly exhort our navigators to follow an example the authority of which ig-

norance alone might endeavour to weaken. In fact, it is only by the help of astronomical observations, that the seaman can contrive to rectify the unavoidable errors in the dead reckoning, an arbitrary estimate which is founded on no solid principle, and obtains, only through the effect of some fortunate compensation, the casual correctness which is sometimes met with on a land-fall. But, independently of the daily advantages which result from the use of the astronomical methods, to the navigator who knows how to put them in practice, they are also useful for the improvement of the nautical art and geography; for, when once observations have been multiplied enough in different tracts of sea, for determining with sufficient accuracy, the direction and the strength of the currents, either constant or periodical; this knowledge, transmitted, in the course of time, from one navigator to another, will serve to guard them all against the error which proceeds from the action of these very currents, in the too frequent circumstances when the state of the weather allows not of determining by observation the position of the point which the ship occupies on the globe.

I have thought it proper to insert in the body of the narrative, only the results of the observations which have served to ascertain some extraordinary effect of the currents; of those which, having recently

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cently preceded the moment of the first sight of a land, have proved the exactness of a land-fall; of those, in short, which have been employed for fixing the position of some remarkable point. But as the currents in the INDIAN SEAS, and in the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope, are the principal cause of the errors to which the navigator is exposed in those parts, if he there make use only of the common methods of pilotage, the groping of the blind, I have reported the greater part of the results which have, at different periods, occurred from the velocity and the direction of these currents: and for those which are met with in the other parts of the two oceans, I have thrown the detail of them into *NOTES* separated from the text, in which the young seaman who is endeavouring to improve himself will find a motive of emulation, when he sees the happy use that can be made of the new methods, for insuring navigation, and abridging the duration of the runs. If I have frequently presented the errors which are occasioned by the effect of the currents, it is that this part of the information which it behoves navigators to acquire, and which can be improved only by the approximation and comparison of the results of observations made at different times in a same track of sea, has not appeared to me to have been treated with sufficient minuteness in the journals of the great voyages of the English. But,
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in pointing out this trifling omission of particulars in their narratives, it would be unjust not to acknowledge, at the same time, that they have amply indemnified us for it by an assemblage, an accumulation of valuable knowledge, of philosophical observations, of new remarks on Physics and Natural History, and by those grand pictures, those grand views which are not to be met with in the narratives of the voyagers who have preceded them, and which, no doubt, it will not be common to find in the journals of those who shall tread in their steps.

I have been of opinion that it would be monotonous and useless to present, day by day, the enumeration of the fishes, birds, and marine plants which were seen in the voyage of the *SOLIDE*, and of which Captain CHANAL's journal must have and has made special mention : but as the sight of certain plants, of certain birds, of certain fishes, frequently indicates to the navigator the distance at which he is from the land, sometimes even announces to him the vicinity of some unknown shore, the reader will find, at their date, in the *JOURNAL OF THE ROUTE*, all the periods at which these animals and plants were met with, and the part of the sea where they were seen. I shall confine myself to reporting, in the narrative of the voyage, the description of some birds and of some marine productions, as it was given by Surgeon

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ROBLET, first officer of health of the ship *Solide*: some of these objects are little known, others have been already described; but one observer does not see all, does not tell all; what may have escaped the first, a second seizes; and several descriptions of the same object by different observers, lead to a more complete description. We ought to be at this day very backward in speaking of what is presented to the curiosity of voyagers by the seas which, in these latter times, the English navigators have explored; there remain but few things to be said on this subject, since a *BANKS*, a *SOLANDER*, a *FORSTER*, a *SPARMANN*, an *ANDERSON*, and other learned men, at once naturalists and voyagers, have given us the most exact descriptions of the animals which, in the seas that they have visited, inhabit the water and the air, and that of the marine productions which are peculiar to the various climates that they have traversed: accordingly, in indulging myself in a few excursions into the field of natural history, I have pretended to nothing more than to collect under the eyes of navigators, pictures that are scattered in different works or narratives which they have not an opportunity of consulting, and with which it may be useful to them to be acquainted. A seaman does not carry a library with him, and seldom, on shore, has he one at his disposal: it is therefore convenient to him, when, intending to make a
long

long voyage, he is reading the narrative of a navigator who has preceded him in the same seas, to find assembled in this account all the information that can interest his curiosity, and enable him to recognise every thing that may present itself to his view. It is for the more complete accomplishment of this object that I have placed at the end of the *JOURNAL OF THE ROUTE*, an abridged description, such as is adapted to seamen, of the different birds, of the fishes, and of some marine productions that are met with on the track which the *SOLIDE* followed in sailing round the World *.

It has appeared to me that, in order to render this narrative more interesting, and to convey a more perfect idea of the countries and people, still new to us, which Captain MARCHAND visited, it was my duty not merely to extract what is said of them in the journal which I had before me; I have made it my business to compare what the French saw, with what had been reported to us by the voyagers of other nations, when there are any who have preceded ours in the places to be described: thus it is that we can rectify the accounts, the one by the other, and obtain, of every place, and of every people, a description which, at

* In the ADVERTISEMENT, which precedes this INTRODUCTION, we have stated our reason for the omission of this part of the original work. — *Translator*

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the same time, may be both more accurate and more perfect. I have sometimes taken the liberty of making digressions, which, without belonging immediately to the voyage of Captain MARCHAND, have seemed to me to afford points of contact that unite them to the subject, if they do not identify them. And, no doubt, if these digressions present some view of public utility, some observation that belongs to the moral and political sciences, some historical or geographical elucidation, some conjecture that is not destitute of foundation, in short, some object that, from the interest which it presents, may appear deserving of the reader's attention, I may be excused for not having always subjected myself to the methodical, and necessarily uniform routine of a sea-journal: people will be still more disposed to be indulgent, when the object of a digression is to maintain or re-establish each nation in the property and enjoyment of the maritime discoveries that belong to it, and to oppose the ever-increasing invasion of those ambitious islanders, who, wishing to domineer over the whole surface of the element that surrounds and protects their possessions in EUROPE, likewise lay claim to the universal discovery and the exclusive commerce of the two Worlds,

I might have made the voyager himself speak: that form imparts more interest to the narrative, when the narrator speaks of the great difficulties

OVER

over which he has triumphed, of the great dangers from which he has found means to escape ; but in a voyage which consists more in description than in action, I have thought fit to prefer the forms of history. The journal of Captain CHANAL and that of Surgeon ROBLET have each been to me a canvas, if I may use the expression, on which I have interwoven accessory subjects, and connected them to the main subject with the design of which they have furnished me ; but when I have reported what the voyager has done, or what he has seen, I have scrupulously adhered to his account : and if I do not relate things precisely as he has told them, I can affirm that I relate exactly the things that he wished to express. The private conversations which I have had with Captain CHANAL, the explanations which he was anxious to give me, with no less complaisance for my questions, than interest for the work, have furnished me with a few additional materials for developing and extending some of the descriptions : throughout, I have endeavoured to express what the voyagers have seen, and in what manner they have seen. To conclude, the Reader will easily distinguish when I speak in my own name, or when I am no more than their interpreter ; I do not mean to render them responsible for my opinions ; the facts are theirs ; and no one has a right to contest them ; the errors of opinion, if any be found, are mine ;

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and I shall be eager to acknowledge and rectify them, if criticism, supported by proofs, shall present them to my notice.

PARIS, 25th Floréal, year V of the French era
(14th May 1797).

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM 1630 TO 1800

BY
JOHN H. COOPER

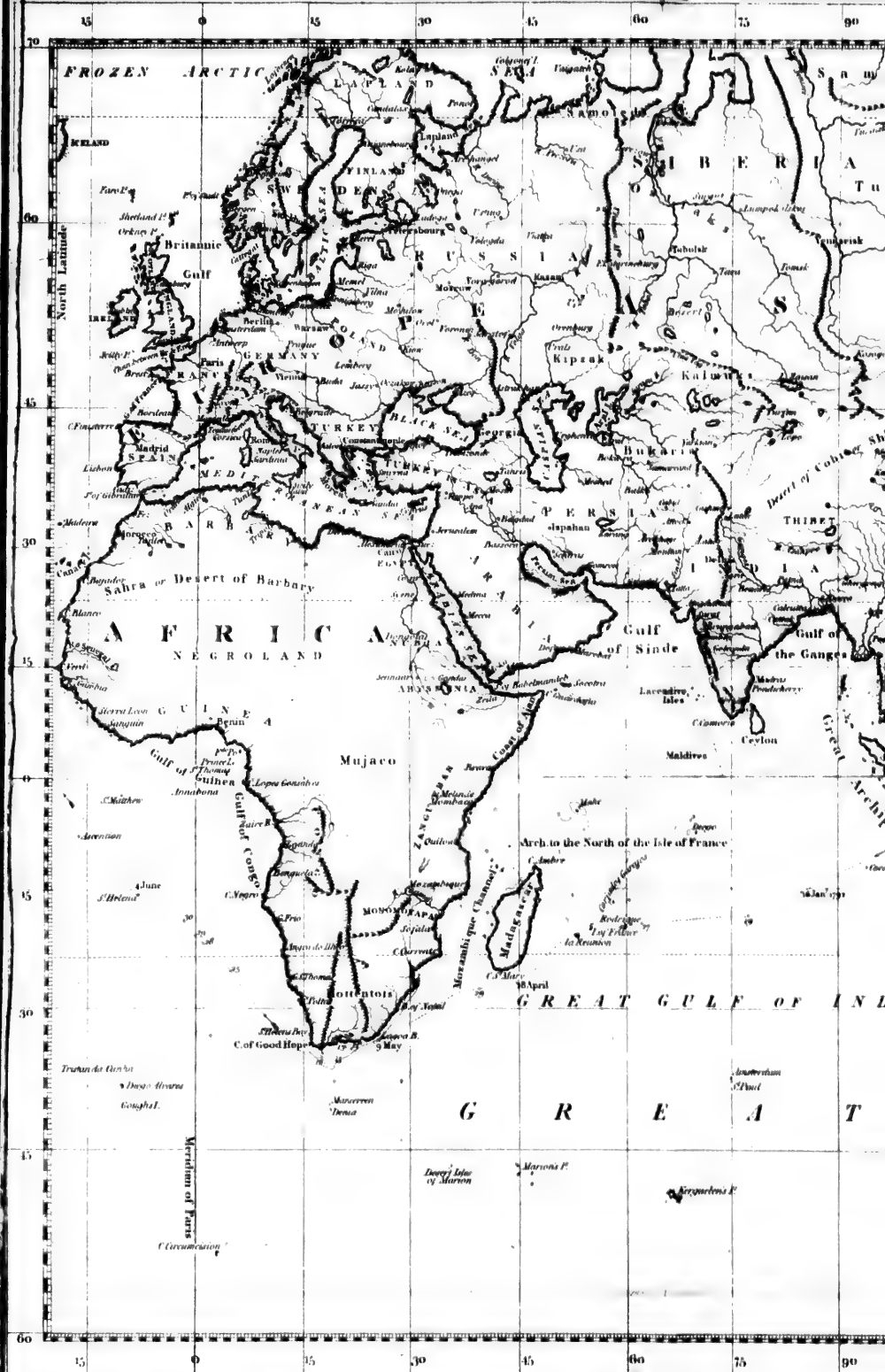


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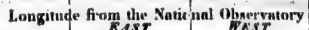
To illustrate

Constructed, under the direction of the Author, and

W. H. M. H. H. H.



for the Direction of the Author, according to Astronomical Observations, by C.F. Beautemps Beaupré, Hydrographical Engineer.



Antarctic Polar Ci

Geographical Engineer to the Navy, and Geographical Draughtsman to the National Institute of Arts and Sciences.



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This is a detailed historical map of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania. The map is oriented with North at the top. It features a coordinate grid with longitude lines labeled at the top (105, 120, 135, 150) and latitude lines. Major regions are labeled in all caps: ORIENTAL TARTARY, CHINESE TARTARY, CHINA, JAPAN, PHILIPPINES, CAROLINE ISLES OR NEW PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, NEW HOLLAND, and AUSTRALIA. Numerous cities and towns are marked with dots and labeled, including Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, Amoy, Singapore, and Melbourne. Rivers and seas are also labeled, such as the Yellow River, Yangtze River, and the South China Sea. The map includes various geographical features like mountains, islands, and straits. The title 'ORIENTAL TARTARY' is prominently displayed at the top. The map is framed by a double-line border.

Longitudinal

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IN THE SEVENTIETH PARALLEL NORTH AND THE SIXTY
 performed in 1790, 1791, and 1792, by Captain ETIENNE MAICHAND.
 Beaupré, Hydrographical Engineer to the Navy, and Geographical Draughtsman to the National Institute of



AND THE SIXTIETH SOUTH,
MARCHANT.

man of the National Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Plate



A
V O Y A G E
R O U N D T H E W O R L D,

DURING THE YEARS 1790, 1791, and 1792.

[READ, AT DIFFERENT TIMES, IN THE SITTINGS OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, IN THE CLASS OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES, ON THE 12th THERMIDOR, YEAR V, (30th JULY 1797,) AND IN THE FOLLOWING SITTINGS.]

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE from Marseilles.—Put into Port Praya in the Island of St. Jago.—Double Cape Horn.—Touch at the Marquesas de Mendoza.—Occurrences in the Bay of La Madre de Dios in the Island of Santa Christina or Wahitahô.—Trade with the natives.

CAPTAIN ETIENNE MARCHAND sailed, in the SOLIDE, from the harbour of MARSEILLES on the 14th of December 1790.

On the 29th in the afternoon, he passed the Strait of GIBRALTAR, and shaped his course to make the Cape DE VERD Islands, at which he intended to touch.

On the 4th of January 1791, in the morning, he got sight of SALVAGE Island; and the next day, at three quarters past one in the afternoon, he discovered, at the distance of thirty leagues, the Peak of TENERIFFE *, at the moment when that remarkable mountain bore nearly south†. This position, in regard to the very meridian of the peak, whose longitude is determined by the astronomical and geodætical observations of BORDA ‡, procured him the mean of detecting and rectifying the error in his reckoning. It was ascertained that the general movement of the waters which, in these latitudes, are constantly directed towards the Strait of GIBRALTAR, had, in the space of seven days, carried the ship about two-thirds of a degree, or thirty-eight miles to the east-ward.

On the 6th, Captain MARCHAND made the Island of PALMA, and the Island of FERRO, or HIERRO.

Some lunar observations, taken in the afternoon of the 9th, indicated that the ship had, from the 5th to the 9th, been again carried to the eastward, fifty-four minutes or about sixteen leagues ||; these served for correcting the dead reckoning; and on

* Or Peak of TEYDE, TEITHE, or TERRAIRA.

† In all the points of the compass mentioned in this narrative, allowance is made for the variation of the magnetic needle, and they are reduced to the true north, unless it be expressly declared to the contrary.

‡ See Vol. II. Notes I. and II.

|| *Ibid.* Note III.

Jan. 1791.]

the 14th, at he perceived western of part of the Islands.

The sight of the current 9th to the 12th westward. A part of the force on making the degree or about the situation of the

Captain MARCHAND some port in the water and refortance to what had been

* As this experiment of our nautical reader the purpose of a in a certain interval one direction, with errors in another period, the observation that the ship had reckoning indicated, that she had the two quantities each other, and Note.

† See Note IV.

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the 14th, at half past nine o'clock in the morning, he perceived the Island of MAYO or MAY, the most western of the four islands which form the south part of the Archipelago of the Cape DE VERD Islands.

The sight of this island shewed that the direction of the currents was changed; and that, from the 9th to the 14th, they had carried the ship to the westward. A compensation * had taken place of a part of the former errors in the reckoning; and, on making the land, the error was reduced to one degree or about nineteen leagues *ahead* of the true situation of the ship †.

Captain MARCHAND had intended to put into some port in the ATLANTIC OCEAN, to procure water and refreshments, with which it was of importance to provide himself by way of replacing what had been expended of those articles before he

* As this expression may, perhaps, appear new to some of our nautical readers, we beg leave to say, that it is adopted for the purpose of avoiding a long paraphrase, and signifies that, in a certain interval of time, the errors in the reckoning, in one direction, were counterbalanced, or at least in part, by errors in another direction; or, in other words, that if, at one period, the observations for the latitude and longitude shewed that the ship had made more *Northing* or *Easting* than the dead reckoning indicated, these observations shewed, at another period, that she had also made more *Southing* or *Westing*, or that the two quantities, in opposite directions, were a set-off against each other, and thus formed a compensation.—*Translator's Note.*

† See Note IV.

undertook the long run which he had to make in order to pass, without touching at any place, from the ATLANTIC into the GREAT OCEAN, and to proceed to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA.

On the 15th in the morning, the SOLIDE anchored in LA PRAYA Bay, situated on the south coast of the Island of ST. JAGO, the most considerable of the CAPE DE VERD Islands; and on the 18th, Captain MARCHAND again put to sea, and steered for making STATEN LAND, to the eastward of TIERRA DEL FUEGO, of which he intended to get sight before he doubled Cape HORN.

Captain MARCHAND's voyage, till he came in sight of this land, affords room only for a few nautical remarks, which I have thought it my duty to insert in the *NOTES* that will be found at the conclusion of this narrative*: their principal object is to compare, at different periods, the result of the arbitrary and uncertain methods employed, till these latter times, for determining the longitude at sea, with that of the methods, if not strictly correct, at least sufficiently so, which astronomy has substituted to the dark routine of the former. The comparison of these results has led me to seek the cause of the errors of the reckoning, in the action of the currents, in those great rivers, if I may use the expression, whose rapid

* See the Notes from IV. to XI.

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course, traversing the ocean in all directions, seems to change with the parallels, with the meridians, with the seasons, with the winds, with the oscillations of the tides, and according to the distances at which a ship sails in regard to the great continents or archipelagoes. We may, however, infer that as every thing in nature is subject to principles and causes, it will, by dint of observing and studying particular effects, be possible to discover some general effects, which, in the limits prescribed to our knowledge, and for our use, are sometimes the equivalent of causes. Seamen are requested to read with attention, and with the Chart before them, the *NOTES*, the object of which is to inquire into the effects of currents: they will find many examples, and a few lessons perhaps, in the part of my labour in which I, in some measure, dissect the ship's route, in order to estimate the daily errors.

On the first of February, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the *SOLIDE* crossed the line in the longitude of $23^{\circ} 30'$ west from the meridian of *PARIS*.

The observations, made, at different periods, for ascertaining the longitude, proved that, from the 6th of February when the ship had reached the parallel of $5^{\circ} 40'$ south, to the 26th of the same month when she had arrived at the latitude of $32^{\circ} 30'$, and between the 28th and 48th meridian west from *PARIS*, the currents had constantly set to the south-west and south-west by west; and that their

mean effect in twenty-four hours, on the ship's progress in longitude, had been from ten to eleven miles which the vessel had been, daily, carried *ahead* of her reckoning; but the observations of the 8th of March * announced that, from the 26th of February to this latter period, the direction of the currents was changed; that, in this interval, they had set about $3^{\circ} 45'$ to the eastward, and $1^{\circ} 30'$ to the northward; that their compound direction was about east-north-east 3 or 4° north; and that the ship had been drifted in this direction, by an unperceived movement, to a distance of two hundred and eight miles in the space of ten days, which gives about twenty-one miles or seven leagues in twenty-four hours. This change in the direction of the currents which, till the 8th of March, had constantly set to the *Southward* and *Westward*, and which, since that period, set to the *Eastward* and *Northward*, can be attributed only to the action of the great current which, issuing from the RIO DE LA PLATA, or River PLATE, had mastered the ship during the days she had employed in crossing it.

It resulted from this circumstance, that a compensation had taken place in the error of the reckoning, in longitude; and that this error which, on the 26th of February, had been $4^{\circ} 40'$ *astern* of the ship, was on the 8th of March, found to be reduced to 53 minutes.

* See Note XII.

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The observations of the following days proved that fresh compensations had again occurred*.

In the mean time, the soundings began to announce the approach of land: on the 17th of March, in the afternoon, the lead indicated seventy fathoms, over a bottom of very fine gray sand, mixed with black and white specks†. Captain MARCHAND sounded frequently till he got sight of STATEN LAND, which was discovered from the mast-head on the 1st of April at noon, as had been expected according to the observations.

At four o'clock, Cape SAN JUAN, the most eastern point of this land, bore south 1 or 2° west, distant thirteen or fourteen leagues.

The longitude of this cape is fixed by the observations made in Captain COOK's second voyage, at 66° 7' west from PARIS ‡; and in comparing to it that of the ship, according to the observations of the 30th of March, and which ought to be the same as that of the cape under whose meridian she was, it will be seen that it differs from it only about 21 minutes, which are here equivalent to no more than four leagues.

* See Notes from XIII. to XVIII.

† See in the *Journal of the Route* the soundings that were had every day.

‡ See *The original Astronomical Observations made in the course of a Voyage to the South Pole and round the World. By W. Wales. London, 1787. 4to. page 329.*

The longitude given by the reckoning from LA PRAYA, whence the departure was taken, presented a correctness nearly equal; it differed from it by being only 37 minutes or about seven leagues *ahead*: but this correctness is the effect of chance, which determined that the great errors in one direction should be counterbalanced and corrected by equal errors in the opposite direction. However, an ignorant navigator, who, in the course of his run, might not know how to make use of any of the means which could set him right in regard to the errors inevitable in a daily estimate the *data* of which are always so uncertain, would not have failed to boast of his land-fall, made on the appointed day, and, as it were, at a fixed hour, after being seventy-three days under sail; he would have attributed to his particular talent, to the certainty of his foresight, to the exactness of his calculations, to his art in short, a precision which was only the result of a fortunate chance: for it is proved that if, in the SOLIDE's voyage, from LA PRAYA to STATEN LAND, the errors, instead of counterbalancing each other, had accumulated in the same direction, which might have taken place in other latitudes, and in other circumstances, the sum of these errors would have amounted to upwards of $13^{\circ} 30'$ which, in the parallel of the land-fall, represent a hundred and sixty leagues of error*.

* See Note XIX.

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On losing sight of Cape SAN JUAN, the SOLIDE shaped her course to double the east end of STATEN LAND, and thence, by sailing round TIERRA DEL FUEGO, without getting sight of it, to gain the parallel of Cape HORN, which Captain MARCHAND intended to make.

In the interval from the 6th to the 7th, he passed beyond the meridian of this cape, which lies in the longitude of $69^{\circ} 46'$ west; for, at noon, on the 7th, the ship had, according to the dead reckoning corrected by subsequent observations, reached the meridian of $70^{\circ} 15'$.

It was not till the 11th, that the state of the weather allowed of taking lunar observations; and, according to their result, compared with that given by the dead reckoning, it was judged that, from the time of losing sight of Cape SAN JUAN, the reckoning was $2^{\circ} 6'$ or about twenty-three leagues *ahead*, which the ship had been carried to the eastward by the effect of the currents that, at the same time, had set nearly half a degree, or ten leagues to the northward*.

Lunar observations, made on the 19th, shewed that, from the 11th, the currents had driven the ship, by an imperceptible movement, $2^{\circ} 9'$ beyond her progress to the westward indicated by the dead reckoning: and according to the observations of latitude, they had at the same time carried her

* See Note XX.

1° 20' to the southward; that is, that her estimated progress towards the north had been diminished in that proportion. Thence it was concluded that the unperceived movement of the ship had occasioned her, in the space of eight days, to make one hundred and fifty-two miles in the direction of west-south-west 1° west, and that the mean effect of the current had been nineteen miles in twenty-four hours*.

It will be seen that the error which had occurred in the reckoning, in the interval from the 11th to the 19th, counterbalances within 3 minutes, and corrects that which had taken place between the 1st and the 11th.

In comparing the result of the observations of the 11th with the result of those of the 19th, we shall remark that, to the southward of TIERRA DEL FUEGO and in the GREAT AUSTRAL OCEAN, the currents appear to have the same direction as that which had been observed in the SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, that is to say, that, in general, in both, the currents which set to the *Northward*, also set to the *Eastward*; and that those which set to the *Southward*, at the same time set to the *Westward*.

Although the contrariety of the winds had compelled Captain MARCHAND to get into the parallel of 60°, he did not, in this latitude, experience the cold which had been expected: REAUMUR'S thermometer fell no lower than the *freezing*

* See Note XXI.

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point, and that only for a few hours in the course of the night. But it cannot be said that the weather was fine, it being almost always attended with hard squalls, hail, and snow.

He began to stand to the northward as soon as the wind permitted him to hold that course; and on the 20th, according to the observations, he had, in the GREAT AUSTRAL OCEAN, reached the latitude of $51^{\circ} 40'$, and longitude of $93^{\circ} 45'$. In this situation, he was two hundred and ten leagues to the west 3 or 4° north of Cape VICTORIA, the most western point of the north coast of the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN: therefore, in the space of twenty days, the SOLIDE had sailed round TIERRA DEL FUEGO. Captain COOK, who, in 1769, had followed nearly the same route, was obliged to employ thirty days in performing it: he had, however, passed through the STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, instead of doubling STATEN LAND to the eastward; which may, according to the wind, shorten the run.

Since the SOLIDE had entered the GREAT OCEAN, all day there were seen flying round the ship, spotted petrels, albatrosses, petrels of different colours, *quebranta-hueffos* * (bone-breakers), Port Egmont hens, and all the various species of oceanic birds, which voyagers, and after them ornithologists, have taken a pleasure in describing, and

* *Procellaria gigantea*, or giant petrel of Latham.—*Translator*.

which,

which, with cetaceous fishes and other inhabitants of the waters, that play on their surface, seem destined to recreate the navigator, and break the monotony of that solitude which the eye cannot measure, and where, but for the presence of a few animated beings, the man who traverses it, placed between the abyss of the sea and the immense expanse of the sky, might think himself alone in the midst of the universe. I refer the reader to the *Journal of the Route* that accompanies this narrative *, to learn the periods at which the various species of birds or of fishes were met with, in what latitude each begins to make its appearance, and in what sea one species seemed to prevail in number over all others of the same genus. I shall here confine myself to relating the descriptions given by Surgeon ROBLET of some birds which were taken on board the *SOLIDE*, in the beginning of April, and which he had an opportunity to examine.

“ One of these birds, which was caught with hook and line, is three feet and a half in extent, including four inches for the diameter of its body ; and its length, from the tip of the bill to the extremity of the tail, is eighteen inches.

“ The wing is composed of ten quill-feathers a foot in length ; their colour is gray, and becomes black at the extremity : the mantle is of a bright

* See Vol. II.

gray,

April 1791.]

gray, which under part is composed and it expanded taken care that covers frequently very all the ocean climates.

“ The legs the joint of inches and a The feet are and a claw to joints, the middle The neck is inch in diameter covered, is full length, and fixed bill is hooked dible, which is lateral ones of wing and form two g separated by a covered by a blue six lines from the upper mandible from the nostril bill, the inner throughout all

gray, which ends by being white on the head: the under part of the belly is entirely white: the tail is composed of twenty feathers ranged in two lines, and it expands at the will of the bird. Nature has taken care to clothe its body, under the feather that covers it, with that very fleecy, and consequently very warm down, which she has given to all the oceanic birds that inhabit the frozen climates.

“ The legs are two inches and a half long to the joint of the toes, whose length is also two inches and a half, including that of the claws. The feet are palmated, and formed of three toes and a claw to the heel: the outer toe has four joints, the middle one three, and the inner two. The neck is three inches long, and the head an inch in diameter. The forehead, which is well covered, is furnished with a bill two inches in length, and six lines in breadth at its base: the bill is hooked at the extremity of the upper mandible, which is formed of three bones, the two lateral ones of which unite with that of the middle, and form two grooves on each side. The nostrils, separated by a cartilaginous partition which is covered by a blue membrane, open, at the distance of six lines from the forehead at the place where the upper mandible is slightly depressed. Four lines from the nostrils, begins the crookedness of the bill, the inner edges of which are channelled throughout all their length. The ears, which are

very much covered, are four lines from the posterior angle of the eye, and their opening is two lines in diameter. The extremity of the upper mandible terminates in a rounded point, exactly moulded to the convexity of the upper one; and it contains the tongue which occupies it almost entirely. The palate, which is terminated by an appendix inserted in the concavity of the hook, is beset with nervous *papillæ*.

"On opening the body, the stomach was found to be formed by a membrane which was entirely empty; and the gizzard, which was six lines in diameter, by an inch and four lines in length, was filled with herbs whose nature could not be distinguished; but it was presumed that they were seaweeds: the internal membrane had, to the touch, the roughness of a cat's tongue. In several individuals of the same species, which were opened, the stomach and gizzard were found filled with birds' feathers, and in one of these, was a bird's bill which was thought to be that of a storm-bird (*avis procellaria*)."

Another bird which, like the former, was taken with hook and line, deserved, from the singularity of its plumage, that Surgeon ROBLET should make of it the following description.

"This bird," says he, "exhibits only two colours, white and black; they are distributed in so diversified a manner, that they give to its robe the most agreeable appearance. The head, which

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is almost round, and the upper part of the neck, are of the most beautiful black; the throat and the belly, of a dazzling white. The mantle, composed of small feathers, rounded at their extremity, and speckled with brown and white spots, presents, on each feather, the figure of a small lozenge which is a thousand times repeated: the rump is still more remarkable, because these small figures, still more numerous, are here more regular, more distinct, and, in all the individuals of this species which there was an opportunity of examining, present themselves under the form of a square seen by one of its angles. The extent of the wings is two feet and a half, including three inches for the diameter of the body: each wing is furnished with ten quill-feathers, the largest of which have the outer, and two thirds of the inner edge of a beautiful black, and the remainder of a fine white; the small quill-feathers are black only at the tip; which produces a border of this colour, completely encircling a white ground. When the bird is in a state of repose, it habitually crosses its wings in the form of scissars. Its tail is composed of eighteen quills in two rows: white prevails throughout two-thirds of their length; a small black stripe, a foot in breadth, terminates the feathers of the first row; and in those of the second, the stripe is not more than three or four lines. The total length of the bird, taken from the

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the tip of the bill to the extremity of the tail, is a foot.

" Its eye is very black and very lively. Its bill, which is of an ebony black, is only fourteen lines in length, and is slightly hooked at its extremity; which gives it a countenance less stupid than other oceanic birds: this bill is formed, like that of the others, of three pieces, of which the lateral ones join to that of the middle, to which they are attached by ligaments and a membrane that allow these pieces to have a little play between them. The nostrils, separated in their middle, by a cartilaginous partition, have a round form, and are covered by a prolongation of the frontal bone, which appears to add to the bill a fourth piece whose root is covered by the feathers. The extremity of the upper mandible is terminated by a small and very sharp hook, which is three lines from the point to the most convex part: the under jaw, entirely filled by the tongue, is exactly adapted to the upper, throughout its whole length, and terminates in a blunt point. The ears are placed as in other birds. The feet are palmated; they have three toes and a moveable claw to the heel. The leg is black, and two inches in length.

" The character of this bird is very gentle and familiar: frequently, for several hours together, we amused a great number of them with small hooks which they very dexterously stripped of their bait.

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bait. We attracted them without any difficulty, by degrees, quite close to the ship's stern. We endeavoured to strike some with a fish-gig *, but without success; their too great lightness and their situation on a fluid opposing no resistance to the fish-gig, they dived under the stroke, without being wounded by it. The cry of this bird, in its sports or its quarrels, is both hoarse and shrill; *cra cra ra cra cra*. Those which were taken into the ship did not seem to regret their liberty; although, at first, they had made frequent efforts to recover it."

Surgeon ROBLET applied no name to the two birds of which we have just given a description: it appears that the former is a *gray petrel*, and it can scarcely be doubted that the latter is a *spotted petrel*, commonly called, in French, a *damier* (draught-board): it is well known that this name has been given to it by our navigators, because the plumage with which the upper part of its body is clothed, in fact, represents a draught-board.

These two birds, like all sea-fowl, in general, have a fishy, muddy taste, such as hunger alone could determine people to use them as food. Sailors, however, think otherwise; but every one knows that their appetite rejects nothing, and that the rats even in the ship, when they can be

* A fishing instrument, a sort of trident with several points, the prongs of which are barbed.

caught, are fricasseed like rabbits: they are sometimes the size of a small individual of that species; but it may be doubted whether they have the same flavour and delicacy.

Among the different birds which the SOLIDE met with in her route, there was particularly remarked one of which some navigators have spoken, but which none have described. BOUGAINVILLE says that, being on the 2nd of December 1769, off Cape VIRGIN MARY, two *white birds*, resembling large pigeons, came and alighted on the yards; and he adds that he had seen a flock of similar birds cross the Bay of FALKLAND'S Islands*.

The SOLIDE met with the first bird of this species, on the 25th of March, in latitude 44° south, longitude $63^{\circ} 20'$ west, at the distance of about seventy leagues † from the MAGELLANIC LAND; and some of the same species were perceived on the 7th of April, when she had reached the latitude of $58^{\circ} 15'$, and longitude of 71° , about forty-eight leagues to the south by west of Cape HORN.

According to the account of Surgeon ROBLET who furnished us with the description of this bird, with which I have blended that in like manner given by Captain CHANAL, these white birds are met with at rather considerable distances from all land, as fifty, sixty, and seventy leagues, either

* *Voyage autour du Monde*, page 117 of the 4to. edition.

† About 88 common leagues.

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blown into the offing by the wind, or travellers; but they are seldom seen more than two at a time. Their flight is executed by a precipitate flapping of the wings which are of an equal breadth throughout their whole length; a character that already distinguishes them from other oceanic birds: one of those which were taken on board the *Solide*, had its feet soiled with a reddish earth. It appears that this species loves to be settled: after having amused themselves with flying for some time round the ship, they perched on the yards; and if fear or fatigue pressed them too much, they alighted on the water; but none of them were observed to play on its surface.

This bird is of the size of a pigeon of the largest species; it has, like it, the neck and body short and compact. Its plumage is entirely white, and very beautiful; and in a dozen individuals which were examined, there was not perceived a single spot; but the inside of the feathers, at the root, is furnished with a blackish down. Its total length, from the point of the bill to the tip of the tail is fourteen inches: the extent of its wings is two feet four inches; and in their dimensions, the diameter of the body, from one wing to the other, occupies four inches. At the extremity of the first joint of each wing, is seen a small callous excrescence, of the form of a wart; and this excrescence is common to all the individuals of the species. Its tail is short and well furnished. Its

bill has the shape of that of the gallinaceous tribe ; but it is thicker, is an inch long, terminates in a point, and is six lines in diameter at its base ; the fore part pretty much resembles that of the bird which we call *grofbeck*. The two mandibles exactly touch each other throughout their whole length ; only the upper projects beyond the under by a small hook of about half a line like that of a hen : in the middle, are the nostrils covered by a sort of scale which issues from the root of the bill ; and this root is surrounded by little *papilla*, from the centre of which is seen sprouting a small feather. The ears are placed below the posterior angle of the eyes, at the distance of six lines. The iris appears black, and the cornea grayish. Under the eyes is a grayish membrane, destitute of feathers, as in our common hens. The tongue, which is not quite so long as the bill, occupies all the breadth of it : the palate is strewn with nervous *papilla* which must give to this bird a more delicate sense of taste than to others. The bottom of the bill, opposite the larinx, is furnished with another row of *papilla* larger than the former, and the two middle ones of which project forward under the form of two small hooks. Its feet, which are of a deep gray, are in proportion thicker and longer than those of oceanic birds, without, however, being so much so as to resemble those of water-fowl. Its foot would resemble that of the hen, if its toes were not proportionably

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portionably thicker: they are, three in number, turned forward, and detached from each other, without any intermediate membrane; the claw, which terminates each toe, is black and very hard.

On opening the body, the stomach was found empty; and the gizzard which is somewhat thick, and clothed inwardly with a denticulated membrane, was filled with fine gravel and small fragments of egg-shells.

Surgeon ROBLER and Captain CHANAL agree in saying that this bird has no fishy or muddy taste, and that it is very good eating: its flesh resembles that of the pigeon, and has the same flavour; and some of the officers, who ate of it, compared it to that of the plover.

We are at a loss to class this bird: the feet which were found soiled with a reddish earth, the form and the quality of the bill, and the manner of flying, seem to indicate a land-bird: the shape of the gizzard, as well as the fine gravel and the fragments of egg-shells which were found in it, even announce it to be a graminivorous bird; while the down that covers its body, beneath the feathers, is a character which belongs to the oceanic bird. Its bill, which, with the exception of some trifling differences, is that of the hen, is not the bill of a bird of prey, and seems not intended for snapping and pulling to pieces fish; it would therefore with difficulty find its food on the sea; and yet it is met with at rather great distances from all land. If, as

several characters indicate, it be a land-bird, its wings must possess great strength, and its flight be very rapid, since, in the interval of its meals, it can proceed to so great a distance from the land which supports it, and return thither in search of its food.

It will be seen that this bird presents a sort of problem which our navigators have not endeavoured to solve; but knowing no voyager who has observed this bird, or designated it by any other name than that of *white bird*, they employed the privilege of imposing one on this unknown species, and called it **WHITE ANTARCTIC PIGEON**: it is for ornithologists to decide whether it ought to retain this appellation.

Till now the SOLIDE's voyage had presented no nautical event which appeared to deserve particular notice; but having on the 30th of April, as I have before mentioned, reached the latitude of $51^{\circ} 40'$ south, and being about two hundred and ten leagues to the westward of the western mouth of the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN; Captain MARCHAND met with a violent gale which annoyed the ship for twenty-four hours; and it is to be remarked that this storm is the only one that he had encountered since his departure from Europe. I observe that he had, however, in a season that is not the most favourable, doubled this dreadful CAPE HORN, the mere name of which, in the middle of our century too, inspired terror. This opinion,

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opinion, already accredited, had acquired great weight by the account of the difficulties which Commodore ANSON experienced in these seas, and of the successive gales of wind which thwarted his voyage, dispersed a part of his squadron, and occasioned the loss of one of the ships of which it was composed. He must have been to the southward of Cape Horn, on the approach of the autumnal equinox in the austral hemisphere; and it is well known that, in all seas in general, and particularly in the vicinity of coasts, the time of the equinoxes is tempestuous: it seldom happens that the periods when the sun crosses the equator, are not marked by some gales of wind. The experience of more recent voyages has proved that by combining their route so as to enter the austral seas in the favourable season, during the summer in the southern hemisphere, navigators meet with no more difficulties in doubling Cape Horn, than in doubling any other promontory: and indeed, this certainty being acquired has, for some years, caused them to abandon the route of the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN, where the frequent necessity of anchoring and getting under way exhausts, to no manner of purpose, the strength of a ship's company; produces the germ of disorders which, in time, are spread; often occasions the loss of anchors; inevitably damages the cables; and more than once in the course of a long voyage, there has been reason to regret having, in the outset, so

little husbanded ground tackle, which cannot be replaced, and on which, on several occasions, depends the safety of the ship and crew. The certainty of finding in the strait both wood and water, must also have contributed to cause MAGELLAN's track to be preferred, in former times, to that of LE MAIRE and SCHOUTEN; but, since the researches of Captain COOK have led him to discover on the south coast of TIERRA DEL FUEGO, that great bay, named by him CHRISTMAS SOUND, which in its circumference affords several good anchorages, water, wood, and salutary plants; since we are assured, from the inspection of this coast, and the observations of the same navigator, that new researches would lead to the discovery of other harbours equally fit for receiving ships and yielding them supplies, there is no longer any motive that can determine seamen to involve themselves in the long and winding labyrinth of the STRAIT OF MAGELLAN.

The gale which the SOLIDE had just encountered had for some days dispersed, but had not put to flight, her aerial convoy, that retinue of different birds which did not forsake her, and which, no doubt, had frequently relieved each other, from the time that she had begun to be surrounded by them. On the morning of the 21st, Captain MARCHAND contrived to shoot two albatrosses; the yawl was dispatched to pick them up on the water; and Surgeon ROULET took possession of them

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The albatross, the largest of the web-footed birds, is often mentioned in the journals of navigators, because it belongs to several seas. It is more generally known to our seamen by the name of *Mouton du Cap*. It may be presumed that this name was given it, because being very common in the SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN which the Europeans first frequented, the Cape of Good Hope being the most remarkable point of this sea, and its sheep being renowned for their size, sailors have thought proper to apply the name of *Cape Sheep* to the largest bird of this ocean, which is easy to be known at a distance from its massy corpulence. If we content ourselves with this etymology, it must at least be admitted that the resemblance of the two animals is not striking.

Surgeon ROULET has furnished us with the following description of the two albatrosses which were taken on board the *SOLIDE*: naturalists will have an opportunity of comparing it with those given by various authors.

“Of the two albatrosses which were taken, the extent of the one was nine feet, and that of the other, nine feet four inches; their length from the tip of the bill to that of the tail, was three feet. The wings, which are divided like those of other birds, are more fleecy and more covered with feathers: they have, next to the six quill-feathers which

which form the tip of them, seventy-two other smaller feathers, disposed in three rows, which again unite to the body, and are covered, at their origin, by some very small white feathers. The other large feathers are also white for about one third of their length, and the remainder of them is black. The feet have the form of those of the goose: they have only three toes united by a brown membrane; the outer toe has four joints; the middle one, three; and the last or inner toe, two. The head is eight inches and a half in length, of which the bill alone occupies five. In one of the individuals, these same parts were slightly tinged with a pale rose colour. In the one, whose plumage was more variegated than that of the other, the mandibles were of a beautiful ivory white, to within an inch and a half of their extremity, and the remainder had the appearance of white horn. The upper jaw is channelled on each side at about an inch and a half from its root; and the piece which appears detached from it is six lines, exhibits a *volvulus* to the right and left, and forms the nostrils: this mandible is depressed in its middle in a very evident manner, and rises again at its extremity, where is inserted the substance of the horn forming the hook which projects three lines beyond the under mandible. The two lateral pieces of the upper mandible have on their upper edge a sort of longitudinal moulding, and on the posterior part of the under edge, is seen a very deep groove,

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intended for covering an equal extent of the under mandible, which is composed of three pieces of the same nature as those of the upper, with this difference, that the under is terminated in a blunt point, formed of a substance of horn or nail, of the same nature as that which forms the hook of the upper mandible. The tongue, which is an inch long, is upwards of eight lines in breadth.

“ The larger of the two albatrosses, which had also the brownest plumage, weighed seventeen or eighteen pounds : the other, which was a female, weighed something less ; its body, above and beneath, was of a beautiful white ; the wings were black above, and white beneath ; but it was much more thinly provided with down than the male ; which may be attributed to moulting or incubation. They were both covered with insects of the species of fowl's lice, but of a more elongated form.”

The description of the birds that at sea attract the attention of the navigator, has, for a few moments, made us lose sight of the voyage of the *SOLIDE*, which had just encountered a violent storm. At noon, on the 21st, the wind had lost a considerable degree of its strength ; but the ship continued to be tossed about by a heavy sea, and rolled so violently, that the most experienced seamen on board had some difficulty in keeping their feet. Volunteer AMÉDÉE CHANAL, brother to the second captain, was thrown down, and in one of the deepest rolls, struck his head against the deck,

deck, in so violent a manner, that he was taken up senseless; but a seasonable bleeding prevented this accident from being attended with any dangerous consequences. Without loss of time, the people were employed in repairing the damages which the gale had occasioned to the ship's hull and rigging; and as soon as the wind allowed of making sail, as much canvass was spread as could be carried without endangering the masts.

From the result of the lunar observations made on the 24th and 25th, and from the daily observations of latitude, it was thought that, in the interval from the 19th to the 25th, the action of the currents had been almost imperceptible, because there were found but very trifling differences between the vessel's progress towards the northward and westward deduced from the observations, and those which the reckoning had indicated. The ship had sailed between the parallels of $52^{\circ} 30'$ and 46° , and in the space comprised between 93° and 96° of west longitude*.

It had, at first, been Captain MARCHAND'S intention to proceed, directly and without touching at any port, from the Cape DE VERD Islands to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; and the health of the ship's company, which was equal to his good will, and had not been impaired by the fatigues experienced during the navigation round the austral land of AMERICA and Cape HORN,

* See Note XXII.

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April 1791

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might render possible the execution of the project that he had conceived, to perform, all in one run and without making any land, a passage of about four thousand leagues. This project may present itself under a seducing aspect, because it exhibits the merit of having overcome a difficulty, and we love to speak of a difficulty which we have found means to surmount; but yet I confess that it appears to me to be attended with no other advantage, no other merit, than that of procuring a very moderate saving in the expense of the expedition: it must also be calculated, that, if fatigues too much prolonged, bringing in their train disorders almost inevitable, compel a commander, at a more distant period, to make long stays in port, in order to give his people time to recover their exhausted strength, the saving which he had in view will be more than absorbed by the increase of expense occasioned by the length of these compulsory stays: and it may be said, that, under this consideration, the interest of the owners well-understood goes hand in hand with what humanity dictates. I am, however, very far from approving that, without necessity, a ship should frequently put into port; but those stays at anchor the object of which is to renew the stock of water, and relieve a commander from the severe obligation of refusing it to a man thirsty through heat and fatigue, are obligatory stays, and more so when they can be made without losing a very valuable

able time, and without deviating from his route. Unprofitable stays in port should alone be proscribed, such as proceed from curiosity or indolence, and which can no longer be justified, at the present day, by the fear that a tedious passage may spread the germ of the scurvy which is supposed always likely to exist in some of the individuals who compose a ship's company: the preservatives whose use is known, and the employment of which we ought to wish to see rendered general in long voyages, can at this time afford a sufficient security to a navigator not to give way to such an inquietude. But every thing has its limits, beyond which the use of a good thing may degenerate into an abuse; and he should not persuade himself that, because he has laid in a stock of antiscorbutics, he may prolong his runs beyond the period when a scarcity of water and a too long privation of fresh provisions, and of land air, would prevail over the effect of the specifics employed for preventing the disorders which more particularly arise from a sea diet.

An accident, which had not been foreseen, made the Captain of the *SOLIDE* relinquish every idea of a run without touching at any port: towards the middle of May, it was perceived that the stock of water began to grow putrid in the casks; and it soon became indispensable to think of the means of supplying its place*. Captain MARCHAND being

* We have here given a literal translation of the text of the original; and, in so doing, we cannot avoid expressing our surprise

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† See Note XX

being aware of the necessity of gaining a port before he stood for the coast of AMERICA, decided in favour of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, situated in the parallel of 10° south, and about the 141^{st} meridian west from PARIS. The situation of these islands suited him the better, as, with a view of avoiding the calms which are frequently met with in shaping a course too much to the eastward, he had intended to cross the line in the longitude of 142° west.

The currents the effect of which in the interval from the 19th to the 25th of April, had been little perceptible on the ship's course, began again to act with tolerable strength from the latter day till the 9th of May, and, in the interval of these fourteen days, carried her thirty-one or thirty-two leagues a few degrees to the northward of east. She had sailed between the latitude of 46° and 30° south, and between the longitude of $95^{\circ} 46'$ and $96^{\circ} 48'$ west from PARIS †.

From the 9th to the 12th, the effect of the currents slackened; but from the 12th to the 27th, when the ship had passed from the latitude of $28^{\circ} 30'$ to $19^{\circ} 30'$, and from the longitude of 99° to $116^{\circ} 30'$, they began again to act with fresh

surprise, that Captain *Marchand* should expect to perform so long a voyage without experiencing what is common in the shortest runs, namely, a decomposition of the fresh water.—

Translator.

† See Note XXIII.

strength,

strength, at the same time changing their direction: in this fortnight, they drifted the vessel eighty-seven leagues and a half to the west-south-west half west, beyond her apparent progress; and on the 27th, the longitude by account was near two degrees and a half *astern* of that which had been determined by observation, although, in the former periods of this run, there had occurred great compensations in the errors.

It may be remarked that, from the 9th to the 27th of May, when the ship crossed the parallels comprehended between 30° and $19^{\circ} 30'$, the currents set to the westward, bending more or less towards the south, at the rate of from four to eighteen miles in twenty-four hours; and it will be recollected that between the same parallels, in the SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, the ship had experienced an equal effect from the currents, and in a similar direction.

From the 24th, Captain MARCHAND had shaped his course for the MENDOÇA Islands. It is well known that these islands were discovered in 1595 by MENDANA; and that in 1774, Captain COOK visited them and determined their geographical situation, which till then had been very doubtful. From the observations made on that day and the preceding, the *SOLIDE*, to repair thither, failed from the latitude of $21^{\circ} 54'$ south, and the longitude of $113^{\circ} 41'$ west.

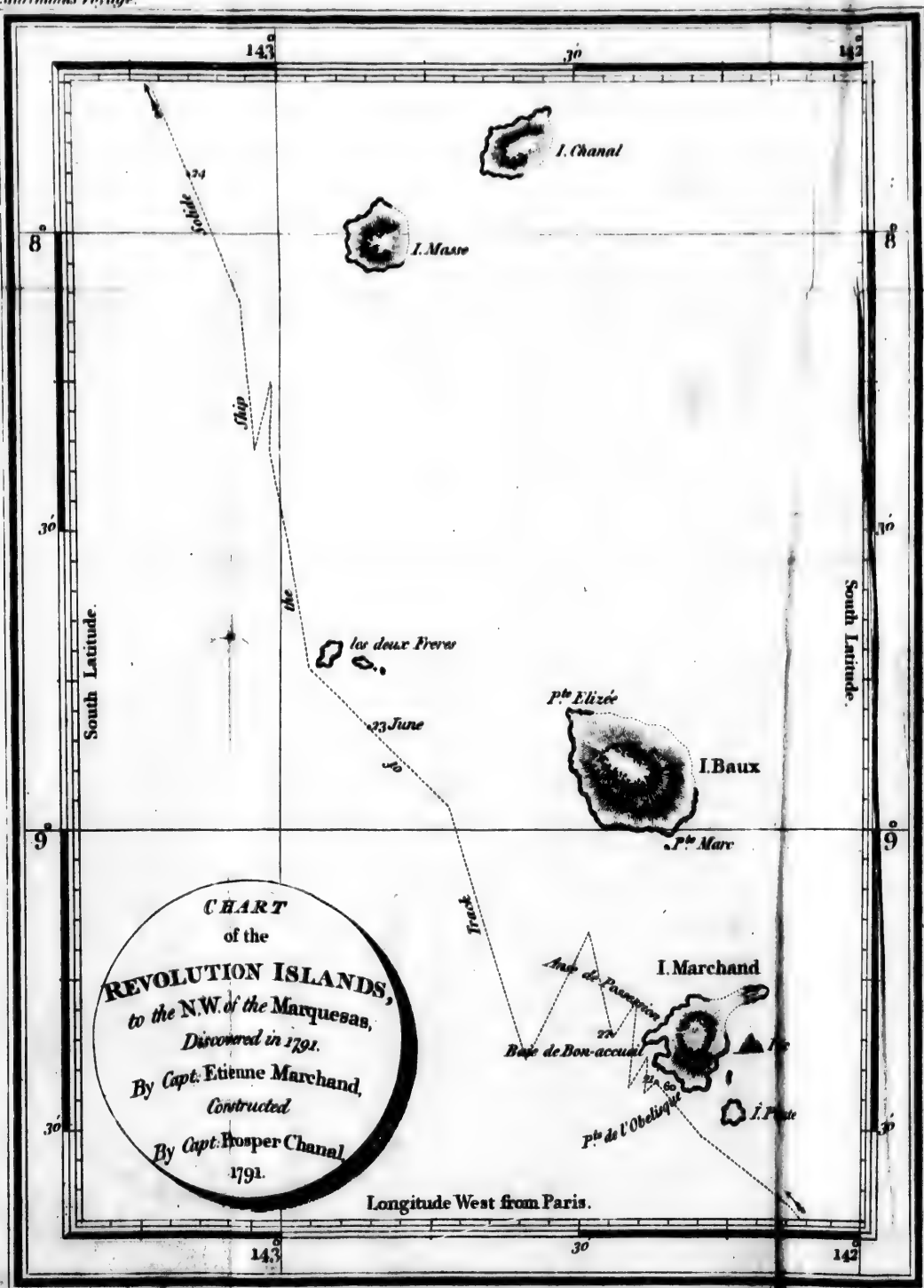
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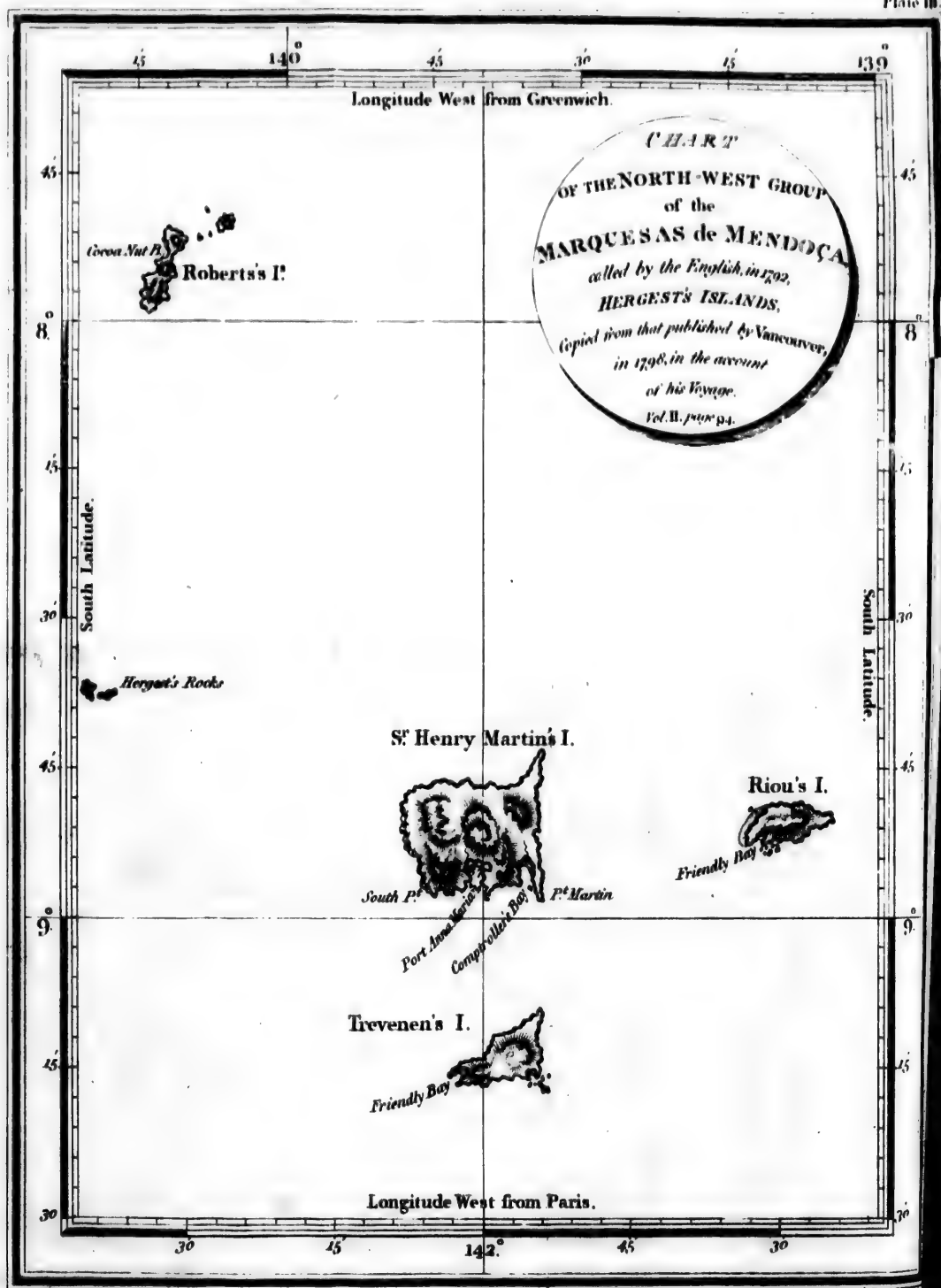
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From the place where she was on the 24th of May, till her land-fall on the MENDOÇA Islands, the run presents no event that deviates from the common routine of navigation; and the nautical reader, who shall follow the progress of the ship day by day, as well in the *Journal of the Route* as in the *NOTES* on the errors of the reckoning and the effect of the currents, will there find every thing that can merit his interest and attention. I shall only say that, on the 19th of April, a few days previous to the period when Captain MARCHAND shaped his course for these islands, there had been perceived a numerous flight of gulls, a species of bird which is accustomed to make its appearance in flocks only on the approach of land. Their flight was directed towards the south-west and west-south-west; and it might be presumed that some land exists in that quarter. The ship had then reached the latitude of 40° south, and the longitude of $100^{\circ} 30'$ west from the meridian of PARIS. In some hydrographical charts is laid down, in latitude 38° , and longitude 108° , a group of islands which are said to have been discovered in 1773 or 1774 by the Spaniards; but the general chart of Captain Cook's third voyage, constructed by Lieutenant ROBERTS, as well as the large maps which the English geographer ARROWSMITH published in 1790 and 1794, place these islands (on what au-

thority I know not) in the latitude of 32° , and longitude of 131° west from PARIS *.

Several times, during the run, there had been perceived some of those fishes known by the name of *Flying-fishes*, which are to be met with in every sea, and, for the most part, belong to the three genera of *exocætus*, *trigla*, and *gasterosteus* †; such as the common flying-fish ‡, the *pirabebe* §, the

* On consulting Mr. *Arrowsmith*, we find that he copied this group of islands into his maps of 1790 and 1794, from the General Chart of *Cook's third voyage*; but that he never had an opportunity of informing himself from Captain *Roberts*, who is now dead, from what authority it had there found a place. It does not appear that such a group has yet been seen by any navigator.—*Translator*.

† Here, in the original, is a note of reference to the word *poisson-volant* in *BOMARE's Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle*. Highly as we respect the authority of *Bomare*, we must beg leave to observe that he has, in this article, confounded the *pegasus*, which belongs to the *Pisces cartilaginei*, with the three genera above-mentioned. Indeed, the reference to *Systema Nature* of LINNÆUS are generally made in a very incorrect manner by the French authors; and, from this circumstance, together with numerous errors in the work itself, it often becomes difficult to specify the animals intended; but we have given, in the text, the English names of the different species, where any were to be found; and, to save our readers trouble, we shall now subjoin the scientific appellations applied to them by various ichthyologists.

‡ *Exocætus volitans*. Linn.

§ *Pirabebe*. Pison.—*Exocætus evolans*. Linn.—*Exocætus pinna ventralibus brevissimis, abdominis carinis nullis*. Gronov.—*Exocætus pinnis pectoralibus longissimis, acuminatis*. Brown.

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*pegasus**, the tub-fish †, the *milvago* ‡, and particularly the *hirundo piscis* ||, by some called the flying-gurnard. It is well known that these fishes, having their pectoral fins better suited, by their strength and their extent, to the mechanism which flying requires, than those of other fishes, they can raise themselves above the water, and dart into the air where they support themselves for some moments. The colour and size of flying-fishes vary according to the species. The *hirundo piscis*, which is the most excellent among flying-fishes, is frequently of the size of the mackerel. Their wings are nothing more than fins whose rays, in spreading from each other, remain united by a flexible, transparent, and glutinous membrane, the colour and the spots of which are as diversified as the species: according to the manner in which they are struck by the rays of the sun, they appear silvery, at the time when the fish is making use of them to fly: in the water, they perform the office of fins; and, to judge of it from the great surface and the length of the oars, compared to the smallness of the vessel, the fly-

* *Pegasus*. Linn.

† *Trigla hirundo*. Linn.—*Trigla capite aculeato, appendicibus utrinque tribus, ad pinnas pectorales*. Arted.

‡ *Trigla lucerna*. Linn.

|| *Trigla volitans*. Linn.—*Trigla capite parum aculeato, pinnula singulari ad pinnas pectorales*. Arted.—*Trigla capite quatuor spondyliis acutis armato*. Brown.—*Translator's Note*.

ing-fish must divide the water with great velocity. The opinion of navigators is that the faculty of flying or of detaching itself for a few moments from the surface of the water, is the mean afforded it by Nature, to elude the pursuit of the large fishes which are incessantly threatening to devour it. But it escapes from one kind of death, only to fly to another, if, as sometimes happens, its flight throws it into a ship; for seamen, who know that this fish is delicate eating, though rather difficult of digestion, are dexterous in catching it; and it has the honour merely of being eaten and relished by the king of animals, instead of being greedily swallowed by some one of the tyrants of the sea. These are not the only dangers to which the life of the flying-fishes is exposed; birds of the large species pursue and attack them, when they present themselves on the surface of the water: no element affords them a refuge against the multitude of their enemies that people the air, the land, and the Seas.

Flying-fishes *with two wings* are, as I have before said, very common, and seem to belong to no sea in particular; but on the 10th of June, about the latitude of $9^{\circ} 30'$ south, and longitude of 135° west, there was perceived, from on board the SOLIDE, a fish of this kind which appeared larger than those that are met with in other latitudes, and differs essentially from the former, by its having *four wings* instead of two; and these

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wings are deeply shaded with red. BOUGAINVILLE had seen fishes of this same species about the latitude of $15^{\circ} 30'$ south, and longitude of $148^{\circ} 30'$ east, in the interval of the *sboals* which he discovered in this parallel, nearly a hundred leagues to the southward of the land to which he gave the name of LA LOUISIADE: those which he perceived were black, appeared to have four red wings; and their size was above the common size of the fishes with two wings*. I do not recollect that any other navigators have mentioned their having met with flying-fishes with four wings†.

The action of the currents was not very perceptible in the interval from the 27th of May to the 8th of June; but from the 8th to the 10th of this last month, in the vicinity of the tenth parallel and between the longitude of 131° and 136° , the ship was drifted out of her apparent course near eighteen leagues to the west $7^{\circ} 30'$ south; and, keeping still in the same parallel, between the longitude of 136° and $140^{\circ} 30'$, she was carried, from the 10th to the 12th, about twenty-three leagues to the west-south-west half west.

For some days, clouds of terns, sea-swallows, and other birds of the species of those whose pre-

* See *Voyage autour du Monde*, page 256 of the 4to edition.

† Captain Edwards, in the *Pandora* frigate, also met with some of these flying fishes with four wings, when off *La Louisiade* in 1791.—*Translator*.

fence announces the vicinity of land, were hovering in flocks in sight of the SOLIDE, and the last lunar observations indicated that the day of the 12th would not pass without our navigators making the Islands called LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA: in fact, they got sight of them about half past ten o'clock in the morning.

The first island which they discovered was that of LA MADALENA *, the most southern of the group. At noon, it bore south-west, and that of SAN PEDRO, situated to the northward of the former, bore directly west, at the distance of about fourteen leagues.

The latitude of the ship, which was, at the same instant, deduced from the meridian altitude of the sun, was $9^{\circ} 59'$; and this is exactly that which the observations made by Captain COOK, in his second voyage, have given to the Island of SAN PEDRO †, on the parallel of which the SOLIDE was placed.

It will, no doubt, be useful for the encouragement of navigators, to relate here briefly (and the proofs of it will be found in the *NOTES*) with what precision Captain MARCHAND, from his own observations and those of Captain CHANAL,

* See the Sketch of the *Marquesas de Mendoza*, and the Plan of the Bay of *La Madre de Dios*, in *Cook's Second Voyage*, Vol. I. page 305.

† See *The original Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage towards the South Pole*, &c. by W. Wales, page 323.

made the land of the MENDOÇA Islands, after a passage of seventy-three days, from the time of his being in sight of Cape SAN JUAN ON STATEN LAND, without making any other land, and only by deriving from the constant use of astronomical observations, all the safety of his course, in the midst of a sea where currents act in directions, and with effects, which disconcert and render useless all the means, all the calculations, all the ordinary methods of navigation.

The last observations for determining the longitude of the ship had been made on the 10th of June at three quarters past four o'clock in the afternoon: their result, compared with that of other observations made on the preceding days, and with the result of the dead reckoning, had shewn that, in the seas where the ship had sailed, and at the period when she was there, the currents set to the westward, or the ship was *ahead* of the reckoning, about 26 minutes, or twenty-five miles two-thirds in twenty-four hours. In keeping an account of this overplus of the real progress of the ship beyond her apparent progress, it was found that, on the 12th, at noon, when the Island of SAN PEDRO bore west, distant fourteen leagues, the longitude of the ship was $140^{\circ} 15'$ west from PARIS. But, according to the observations made in the second voyage of Captain Cook *, the

* See the preceding Note.

longitude of the ship, deduced from that of SAN PEDRO, ought to be $140^{\circ} 29' 15''$: the error then was only fourteen minutes and a quarter; that is to say, that the true situation of the ship with respect to the island, was *ahead* of that in which she was supposed to be, only four leagues and one third: and the islands, on which Captain MARCHAND made his land-fall, are perceived at the distance of eighteen or twenty leagues. It is even probable that if, on the day of his making the land, the weather had been suitable for lunar observations, the error would have been less, or at least might have been so; for he was obliged to suppose that, in the interval from the 10th to the 12th the velocity and the effect of the currents had been the same as during the days which had preceded the observations of the 10th; and it is proved, by the error discovered on making the land, that this velocity and this effect had been greater than the preceding, in the proportion of $34\frac{1}{10}$ to $26\frac{1}{3}$ *.

In order to shew at present what would have been the error in longitude, had ignorance compelled Captain MARCHAND to employ, in the direction of his course, only the common methods, and the dark routine of pilotage, it will be sufficient to report here, in a lump, the differences of the results of the dead reckoning, compared,

* See at the end of the *Notes*, the *Table of the effect of the Currents, &c.* from the 8th to the 10th, and from the 10th to the 12th of June 1791.

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in the course of the passage, with those which were deduced from observation. The sum of the partial errors of the reckoning towards the east, or *astern* of the ship, was $8^{\circ} 41'$; that of the partial errors towards the west, or *ahead* of her, was $4^{\circ} 13'$: therefore the sum of the errors in either direction, after a voyage which employed only seventy-three days, approaches the sum of 13° . It is true that the relative error, with which the dead reckoning was affected at the period of making the land, was only $4^{\circ} 28'$, that is to say, two hundred and sixty-two miles, or eighty-seven leagues, *astern* of the true situation of the ship; but this is owing to the effect of the compensations which took place in the beginning of the run*; and who can warrant the navigator that compensations will always happen? An error *astern* of the ship is always dangerous, because, in the security with which a navigator must be inspired by supposing the land at a great distance, he pursues his course without due precaution, without being on his guard against an accident which he thinks he has no reason to dread. To this first danger, common in all latitudes, is added a second, peculiar to the region of the trade-winds, which, in truth, does not involve the safety of the ship, but may occasion a delay very prejudicial to the success of an expedition; it is that of finding himself, when

* See Note XXIX.

he comes from the eastward, to leeward of the islands at which he intends to touch, and of seeing himself, if he wishes to regain them, forced to consume, in repairing his fault, a time which might have been more usefully employed.

Captain MARCHAND, certain of his situation by the sight of the land, steered for the Island of SAN PEDRO which, as has been observed, bore directly west of him: he soon perceived DOMINICA and SANTA CHRISTINA; and, in the afternoon, he discovered, twelve leagues to the north-west one quarter north, HOOD'S Island, the most northern of the group.

In doubling the south end of the Island of SAN PEDRO, the water suddenly shoaled to twelve fathoms*, rocky ground; till that moment, no bottom had been found with a line of thirty fathoms. Captain MARCHAND, in order to increase his distance from the land, immediately hauled his wind to the southward, and standing in that direction, the soundings varied from ten to eighteen fathoms, over a bottom of the same quality. At three quarters past eleven o'clock at night, he was three leagues and two-thirds from the Island of SAN PEDRO, when the water

* It is to be observed that in the French Marine, a fathom consists of no more than five Paris feet; a Paris foot is 12,789 English inches; but, since the adoption of the new French measures, the term *mètre* is substituted to that of *brasse*. The meter is to the French fathom, as 1,624 to 1. — *Translator*.

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deepened to twenty fathoms: the soundings gradually increased to twenty-six fathoms, with still rocky ground; and at a quarter past midnight, a line of thirty fathoms would not reach the bottom. He then stood again to the westward; and at two o'clock in the morning, he had no soundings at sixty fathoms. Captain COOK, who came from the north-east when he fell in with the MENDOÇA Islands, having passed to the northward of the Island of SAN PEDRO, and entered into the channel which separates DOMINICA from SANTA CRISTINA, could not have met with the reef of rocks over which the SOLIDE passed; and the accounts of MENDANA's voyage do not mention that the latter had any knowledge of it. Captain CHANAL is of opinion that this shoal begins at the Island of SAN PEDRO itself, that it runs to the south-south-east, and perhaps extends with a variable depth of water, even as far as the Island of LA MADALENA.

Captain MARCHAND's intention was to put into MENDANA's Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, where Captain COOK anchored in 1774, when he made the MENDOÇA Islands a second time, and which affords a better anchorage and more shelter than two other bays situated, like the first, on the west coast of SANTA CRISTINA, but a little more to the southward.

On the morning of the 13th, Captain CHANAL was detached in a boat in order to examine the coast,

coast, and find out the entrance of LA MADRE DE DIOS; he soon discovered it, and made the signal for it to the ship. While he was employed in founding it, several natives, who had left the north cove, some in canoes, others swimming, manifested by their mirthful singing, the pleasure which they felt at the arrival of the strangers. He remarked a large double canoe, carrying eighteen or twenty men, among whom two or three persons, who appeared of more consequence than the rest, although they were distinguished by no particular ornament, blew a conch*, while the rest of the party sang and beat time, either by clapping their hands, or by striking the palm of the right hand on the elbow of the left arm which was crossed over the breast. They soon shewed that they knew what want had brought the strangers into their bay; they pointed, on one side, to the rivulet which empties itself into the north cove, and on the other, to the spring which issues from the rock situated between the two coves: some of them even brought fresh water in calabashes. Several women and young girls, grouped on the shore, embellished the scene; and the men who surrounded the boat informed our sailors, by signs which were by no means equivocal, that the ladies were at their service; while

* This conch nearly resembles the *Strombus lambis*, which, according to Father *Labat*, is a species of snail of the seas of *America*, that is sold very dear in that country, because it serves as a hunting horn to several savage nations.

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the belles themselves, by expressive looks and attractive gestures, that language of all countries, confirmed with eagerness the offer which the men made of their persons.

Captain CHANAL distributed to such of the natives as were following the boat, some of those coloured glass-beads, of which the islanders are so desirous for the purpose of adorning themselves; and the latter, in return, offered him cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and fish, which were paid for in nails. The traffic was carried on honestly and fairly; and for this once, without the precedent being observed in the sequel, the natives made no attempt to pilfer what was not offered them. They had hoped that the boat's crew would land; and when they saw their expectation was not accomplished, they expressed their dissatisfaction: but as soon as they were given to understand that the ship was going to be brought into the bay, the burst of their joy, which was manifested anew, was an assurance that our navigators might rely on their peaceable and friendly disposition.

The SOLIDE had not yet reached the bay, when a flotilla of canoes, loaded with natives of both sexes, some from LA MADRE DE DIOS, others from bays more to the southward, some even from the Island of DOMINICA, whence the ship had been perceived, hastened with all speed to meet her. One of their old men, after having pronounced an harangue which, as may well be imagined, was understood

derstood by no one, tied to the main rigging a piece of white cloth; it was the olive branch: they then vied with each other in crying "*Tayo! Tayo!*" (friend! friend!) and the crew of the *SOLIDE* repeated in chorus "*Tayo! Tayo!*" Captain MARCHAND caused to be distributed to the islanders some European toys, among which looking-glasses appeared principally to fix their attention, and excite their astonishment, as if they had never seen any before; however, it is probable that they had received some from Captain COOK, and perhaps at a more remote period from MENDANA; and if, as may be supposed, time had effaced the recollection of the visit of the Spaniards, that of the English was too recent for some trace of it not to be left in their memory. The crowd of them soon increased to such a degree, that it was no longer possible to work the ship: they were solicited to return to their canoes; to this they consented with a good grace; and the sun had no sooner descended below the horizon, than they set off to regain respectively their islands, according to the general custom of the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN, whom the sight, even of an object so extraordinary to them as an European ship, cannot induce to remain during the night at a distance from their habitations.

Surgeon ROBLET remarked, during the *SOLIDE*'s stay in the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, that, among the canoes of different islands which

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came to traffic with the ship, and each of which returned, every evening, to its respective island, one or two always directed their course towards a point of the horizon where hitherto navigators know of no land.

The wind was very faint during the day of the 13th, and so variable, that the ship could not reach the anchorage before night: the currents set a little to the westward; and Captain MARCHAND, to preserve his situation, worked to windward between SANTA CHRISTINA and LA DOMINICA. The next morning, the 14th, with a steady breeze from the north-north-east, he crowded sail for the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS; and at eight o'clock the SOLIDE came to an anchor there in thirty fathoms water, over an excellent bottom.

Scarcely had the ship made her appearance at the opening of the bay, when she was at once surrounded by upwards of five hundred natives, in canoes: their number, which was increasing every moment from the arrival of those who came from LA DOMINICA, might have occasioned some alarm; but their dispositions did not appear hostile; they wished only to traffic; they brought fruits, and offered their women. Captain MARCHAND refused, for the moment, to admit them on board; he kept them in their canoes till the vessel was brought to an anchor. In the mean time he gave orders for their being watched, to prevent them

them from concealing any thing that they might take away: it is not possible to imagine with what dexterity, in the twinkling of an eye, and without any other tool than their fingers, they contrived to detach from the ship pieces of iron or copper, for the loosening of which an European would have been obliged to employ an instrument. But, as the thefts were increasing, he judged that it was prudent to counteract in time every enterprize of this kind; and, with a view of frightening or intimidating the islanders, he ordered a one pounder to be fired with powder. The explosion neither appeared to alarm, nor even to astonish them; but thinking that it was meant only to keep them from alongside, they began to grow insolent, and committed several thefts with more audacity than they had hitherto manifested. A shot from a four pounder, which was made to whiz over their heads, and which was directed against the rocks of the coast, seemed, however, to inspire them with some terror, and, for a few moments, suspended every movement on their part. But presently, having recovered from their fright, they threw on board cocoa-nut shells, bread-fruit, and sticks, by which some persons belonging to the crew were hurt: they brandished their lances and struck the point of them against the ship, as a defiance for battle: some endeavoured to remove the leaden pump affixed to the stem: others carried

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ried their boldness so far as to attempt to snatch away a musket from one of the men who were charged with the defence of the boats which had been hoisted out. It was remarked that the most turbulent and most active were those in the canoes which had come from LA DOMINICA; the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA did not oppose these excesses; but they did not appear to take part in them*. A commander less prudent and less humane than Captain MARCHAND, would perhaps have thought that it was becoming the dignity of an European, in order to punish audacity and avenge insult, to make use of the superiority of his arms: considering them only as children who wished to fight with men, he contented himself with causing all the ship's company to appear armed, and merely ordered two muskets to be fired over the head of the most audacious, but in such a manner that they could hear the whizzing of the ball, and yet that none of them should be hurt. This display of war, these first reports of a weapon with the irresistible power of which the Europeans had already made them acquainted, proved to them that it was resolved to check them by force; and this threat, without effusion of blood, was sufficient for re-establishing order and harmony. The crew had merely to take precautions against petty thefts; but when the article stolen was claimed, the thief restored it without resistance, often even laughing,

* Observations of Roblet.

as if the theft had seemed to him only a waggish trick.

As soon as the safety of the ship was provided for, and she was securely moored, permission was given to the islanders to come on board; and the traffic began. By this means there was procured a considerable quantity of cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruit, and fish, as well as various little articles and implements, together with arms, cloths, and ornaments in use among the natives.

But while this traffic for provisions occupied the captain and the officers, a contraband trade was introduced on board. Perhaps, for the honour of the navigators whom EUROPE sends into these distant countries, we ought to suppress the account of certain incidents of their voyages, over which the philosopher mourns, and from which he would wish to turn away his eyes: but history seizes on them; to her belong the weaknesses of human nature; she must paint man with his vices and his virtues; and if she were desirous of presenting none of his inclinations and actions but such as deserve praise, she would frequently be reduced to silence.

Among the islanders brought by the canoes from SANTA CHRISTINA and LA DOMINICA, was a pretty considerable number of women and young girls: the greater part were remarkable for their youth and beauty. Their looks, their gestures and repeated allurements, left no doubt of the

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motive of their visit; and the men who accompanied them, vied with each other in their eagerness to serve them as interpreters, and to make a tender of them to their entertainers. The ladies were admitted on board, and were welcomed by some young seamen of the southern provinces of FRANCE, whose senses six months of fatigues had not been able to deaden. At first sight, negotiations were begun; and the contracting parties not opposing to each other any dilatory or evasive clauses, they presently flew down between decks to conclude the treaty Let us throw a thick veil over what is passing. I shall only say that, on the approach of night, the young MENDOÇA belles were seen to re-appear on deck, loaded with nails, small looking-glasses, little knives, coloured glass-beads, ribbands, bits of cloth, and other productions of our arts, which they had bartered for the only commercial article that they had at their disposal. Often, in the sequel, they introduced less mystery into their traffic; they have been seen, without any other clothing than that of nature, to climb to the masthead by the ratlings, with an agility which the young sailors, who hastened to follow them, could scarcely equal; and, more than once, the tarry top * was transformed into a temple of GNIDUS.

* A top is a sort of platform, surrounding the lower mast-head, from which it projects on all sides, like a sort of scaffold. The principal intention of the top is to extend the topmast shrouds, so as to form a greater angle with the mast, and thereby give additional support to the latter. — *Translator*.

At other times, when their too great numbers embarrassed the interior duty of the ship, or when their stay on board being too much protracted, they were compelled to withdraw, they jumped overboard from the gangway, and swam, vying with the sharks in skill and agility; but, like real Syrens, they did not go away from the ship; they performed a thousand evolutions in sight of her, shewing themselves under every form; and perceiving, without difficulty, that this manœuvring infinitely delighted our seamen, they willingly consented to favour them with several representations of that nature: this was giving them earnest for the next day; this was realizing under their eyes that charming picture of the birth of VENUS, where the pencil of BOUCHER has represented the young Nereïds sporting on the waves round the conch which bears the goddess. And what could not the art of these Syrens effect on the young seaman who is not an ULYSSES!

After every precaution had been taken on board against a surprise, for which it is always prudent to be prepared, on the part of the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN, even of those of whom it should seem that less mistrust is to be entertained, Captains MARCHAND and CHANAL, with a detachment of eight men armed, went on shore. A multitude of islanders, of both sexes, who were assembled on the beach of the north cove, where the boat landed, received them with every demonstration

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stration of joy. An old man, whom they presumed to be one of the chiefs of the district, very gravely and repeatedly rubbed his nose against theirs; and it is well known that, among some of the tribes in the islands situated in the GREAT OCEAN, this sign of good-will, which at first appears to us extraordinary, and which, however, is only the diminutive of applying one's cheek against that of another person, is the sign employed to salute those who are acknowledged as friends; it is the fraternal embrace.

After this first reception, which announced the most friendly dispositions, the natives who foresaw the want of the strangers and the object of their visit, hastened to point out to them the rivulet which runs in the north valley, whose water is excellent, and the access to it from the sea remarkably easy. They afterwards conducted them to an area enclosed by stone-walls four or five feet in height. A few men only, no doubt of a superior class, were admitted into this enclosure: the women were excluded from it, and remained without with the crowd. The strangers were invited to sit down under a large tree, the foliage of which shaded the enclosure, and protected it from the heat of the sun: the natives then presented to them a man of low stature, of a very advanced age, to whom they gave the title of *Otöoub*, which was thought likely to be that of king or chief, because the islanders, who had at first discovered

that Captain MARCHAND was the commander or the chief of the strangers, alike applied to him, the name of *Otöoub*. This little old man had a very wretched look; and, far from having that assurance which authority gives, he was all in a tremor: he was distinguished by no ornament; and our navigators could not be persuaded that so pitiful a being could be the chief of the district. However, Captain MARCHAND offered him some presents which he accepted. Then the natives about him, his Ministers perhaps caused him to sit down between the two French captains; presently four hogs were successively brought; and each of those who carried one, after having pronounced a harangue, deposited his offering at the feet of the strangers. Nails, looking-glasses, and glass-beads, were distributed to each of the orators; and here the ceremony concluded. The French returned to the beach, still followed by a numerous crowd, composed of individuals of both sexes, singing and incessantly repeating, "*Tayo! Tayo!*" The *Tayos*, *Tayos* as they were, found means to steal Captain MARCHAND's handkerchief and snuff-box; but as he did not wish to disturb the joy of this day, he seemed not to have perceived his loss. We may be confirmed in the opinion that, if theft, among the nations disseminated in the islands situated in the GREAT OCEAN between the tropics, be the effect of an irresistible passion, a sort of want of nature, excited by the sight of new objects,

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objects, they seem to attach no importance to this action; for the natives of LA MADRE DE DIOS were seen to wear hanging to their neck, in presence of the French, the articles which they had stolen from them the day before, or even that very morning.

I observe that neither Captain COOK, nor Mess. FOSTER, in the accounts which they have separately given of the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, make mention either of this enclosure walled in with stone, or of this ceremony of reception, reported by Captain CHANAL: perhaps, the edifice has been constructed in the interval of the seventeen years which have elapsed between the voyage of the English and that of the French.

I observe too, that neither of them have spoken of a sort of temple that FIGUEROA, in his account of MENDANA's voyage, in 1595, calls *Oraculo*, (oracle, oratory, temple,) which, at that period, stood at a small distance from the habitations of the north cove, where the ships of the three nations lay. Two centuries may have sufficed for the destruction of this monument: but they have not affected the description which FIGUEROA has given of it from the report of QUIROS, first pilot to MENDANA, and which he has preserved to us in his *History of the noble Deeds of D. GARCIA DE MENDOÇA, fourth Marquis of CANETE* *.

* See *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtad. de Mendoza, quarto Marques de Canete. Por el Dr. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, año 1613. 4to, p. 245.*

"Not far from the hamlet," says he, "is an *oraculo*, surrounded by a pallisade which leaves an opening on the western side; and, in the middle of this enclosure, stands a house whose entrance faces the north. In it we saw some wooden figures rudely carved, before which various eatables were placed in the manner of an offering: we particularly remarked a dead hog of which the Spaniards took possession; and as they were preparing to fall on the other provisions, the natives stopped them, at the same time giving them to understand that this place and every thing it contained, were objects of their veneration."

I should be almost inclined to think that this *oraculo* of which FIGUEROA gives a description, was the burial-place of some chief of the country, a *Morai**, in the language of the islanders of the tropics. The custom of placing provisions near the dead, to anticipate wants which they cannot have, has been almost universal, as it is of great antiquity; and in our Europe, so civilized, among nations even where reason more advanced, and philosophy, have soonest done away ancient prejudices, do we not see, in the eighteenth century, a table served sumptuously in the blazing chapel where, representing life, and, as it were, surviving themselves, princes, embalmed and clothed with the marks of power, lie stretched out on their beds of state?

* *Morai*, according to the orthography of Cook; *Maraï*, according to that of G. Forster.

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Captain MARCHAND had employed the day of the 14th in acquiring some general notions of the country, and in making acquaintance with his hosts. On the 15th, very early in the morning, the natives of both sexes came in crowds to the ship, and traffic was resumed: the men were not allowed to come on board; the women only were admitted; and they behaved very honestly, it is said in the Journal; for they did not pilfer.

The long-boat was manned in order to go to the watering-place, and fill the empty casks under the protection of a detachment of eight men: Captain CHANAL, who commanded her, was accompanied by Lieutenants INFERNET and LOUIS MARCHAND, the Captain's brother. The natives were eager to assist the French in this service, and reserved for themselves the most laborious part of the duty. The concourse of spectators, attracted by curiosity, sometimes incommoded the waterers; but, on the smallest sign that was made to them, they drew back without manifesting any ill-humour. An accident had like to have disturbed this good understanding; a sailor stationed as a sentinel, and, for want of other employment, playing with a blunderbuss with which he was armed, it went off unexpectedly; the ball flew into the midst of a numerous group of islanders who were quietly reposing under the shade of a large tree, and struck a young man in the arm. It might be apprehended that this event would draw on the detachment

detachment the vengeance of the natives ; but it appeared to have inspired them only with fright : some of them hastened to present to Captain CHANAL green boughs, as a token of peace, and they mournfully repeated : "*Tayo ! Tayo !*" He contrived, as well as he could, to make them understand that the piece went off by accident, and that there was no intention of doing them any injury : sometimes they appeared to comprehend what was meant to be said to them, and seemed convinced ; but yet they sorrowfully repeated : "*Tayo eto, matte eto !*" (You are our friends, and you kill us !) Signs of friendship were lavished on them, presents were distributed to them ; and their alarms were quieted : the business of watering was resumed, and they voluntarily continued to share the fatigue of it with strangers with whom they had reason not to be satisfied.

As soon as the long-boat returned on board, Captain MARCHAND, informed of the event, dispatched another boat with the chief surgeon of the ship, ROULET, in order to afford the islander who had been struck by the ball every assistance that might depend on his art. He was not long in reaching the shore. On his arrival, Captain CHANAL requested that the wounded man might be sent for, and he was accordingly brought to them. He was a beardless youth, of a mild and interesting countenance. He presented himself

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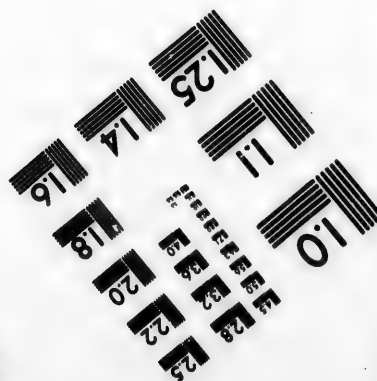
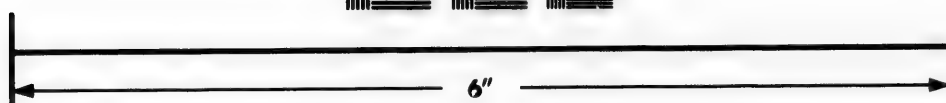
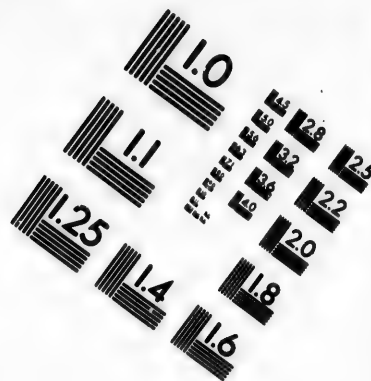
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himself with a melancholy air, but with confidence, although he might have imagined that he was in the midst of his assassins. The natives had applied to his wound a most ingenious dressing, which proved that they are accustomed to dress fractures. The surgeon discovered that the ball had pierced the fore-arm, and that the bone was broken. The islanders, who crowded round at the dressing of the wound, paid the greatest attention to it, and, contrary to their custom, kept the most profound silence. After the operation, the young man was loaded with caresses and presents by the French; the attentions that they lavished on him effectually supplied the place of reasons which could not be well understood; and the gratitude, which was manifested on the countenances of the natives, proved to their imprudent visitors that the fault was forgotten.

The long-boat was dispatched again the next day to continue the service at the watering-place, and the islanders lent the same assistance that they had afforded the day before; while traffic was continued to be carried on in the ship, where every thing passed quietly.

This same day, in the morning, Captain MARCHAND made an excursion into the interior of the country: he was accompanied by a servant, and some natives had officiously offered to serve him as guides. They appeared very eager to give him their arm, and support him in difficult or slippery





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slippery passes; but, after having penetrated about a mile into the wood, he had reason to suspect that his guides were meditating some mischief, and he came back as he went. From that moment, they ceased to offer him the help of their arms; and this change of behaviour could not but add to his mistrust, and inspire him with uneasiness. Wishing to quicken his pace, he made a slip; one of the natives seized that moment to snatch from him his musket, and ran off as fast as his legs could carry him. Captain MARCHAND began pursuing him, and was on the point of running his sword into the fellow's loins, when he was called back by the cries of his servant: five or six of the natives had assaulted the latter, [who was struggling in order to oppose the efforts which they were making to strip him. The arrival of the Captain made them quit their hold; but it was not without carrying off in their flight the servant's hat, and a box which he had under his arm. At the moment, a thousand cries of men, women, and children were heard in the middle of the wood. On arriving at the beach, the Captain saw that the alarm was spread; the natives were flying on all sides: and it was not without extreme difficulty, and repeated marks and signs of friendship and peace, that he succeeded in dispelling their fears, and preventing them all from forsaking the shore.

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make an excursion to another part of the island, hastened to return to the beach where the ship's boats were accustomed to land. It turned out that he had not been molested in his tour, which had carried him to a pretty considerable distance from the sea-side; and it was thought that he was indebted for the tranquillity which he had enjoyed in his excursion, to one of the islanders who appeared to have some ascendancy over the rest, and had chosen to accompany him. Captain MARCHAND gave this chief to understand that he was absolutely determined to recover the musket which had been taken from him; and he promised to reward the islander amply, if he brought it back to him. The latter set off immediately; and half an hour had scarcely elapsed when he re-appeared with the musket: shewing his broken club, he wished to have it believed that it had been so broken on the head of the thief. Captain MARCHAND rewarded him as he had promised; but he was not convinced that, in order to cause the article stolen to be given up, the chief had been obliged to employ a mean so violent as that to which he asserted he had had recourse. The Captain, after having received his piece, perceived that the rammer was wanting; he explained this to the chief who again set off, with a promise of bringing it back. The party did not wait for his return, and they proceeded towards the shore in
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order to regain the boat : at the moment when they were re-embarking, the servant's hat was restored.

The event of the morning did not prevent the long-boat from being sent to the watering-place in the afternoon : the natives shewed to the French the same friendship, the same confidence ; they continued assisting them to fill and ship their casks, without requiring any recompense, and even appeared very grateful for the little presents which the officer of the watering-party chose to make them, and which they did not seem to expect.

On the 17th and 18th, the work to be done in the hold, and the repairs of the sails and rigging, necessary for putting the ship in a condition to continue the voyage without touching at any port till she reached the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, occupied and detained every one on board : no boat was sent on shore ; but the traffic was not interrupted in the ship, whither the natives repaired as usual, not only from the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, but also from the neighbouring bays, and even from the Island of LA DOMINICA. Some large double canoes arrived laden with the fruits of the country ; and there was such an abundance, that twelve cocoa-nuts were obtained for a four-inch nail. But the provisions which our navigators were most desirous to procure, hogs and fowls, were not comprised in these cargoes : a solitary hog appeared in one of the canoes, yet no offer

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offer could determine the owner to dispose of it. In order to induce the natives to bring hogs, it was decided that, in future, glass-beads only should be given in exchange for fruits; and that nails, knives, and other goods should not be granted but for fowls and hogs. This resolution procured two fowls; a feeble resource for great wants.

Although the duty on board the ship required the assistance of every one, it was nevertheless determined, in the afternoon of the 18th, to send a boat on shore, on the report which the islander, to whom Captain MARCHAND was indebted for the restitution of his musket, came to make that the young man who had been wounded by the French, stood in need of the assistance of the surgeon. With no small difficulty were obtained two hogs and a few fowls, which were paid for with nails, knives, and looking-glasses. It is the more to be wondered at that hogs were so hard to be procured, as the species was not rare; as it was known that, in 1774, Captain Cook had trafficked for a very considerable number with facility; and as many were reckoned in the huts in the vicinity of the watering-place: but the inhabitants refused to sell them.

While the boat's crew were filling the water-casks, a party was sent to gather a large stock of an excellent water-cress which was growing at a small distance from the rivulet: it was paid for with glass-beads; and the natives who had assisted the

the crew in the labours of the watering-place were rewarded in the same manner.

The impossibility of procuring in the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, the quantity of hogs necessary for the supply of the ship, determined Captain MARCHAND to visit, in person, the bays which are situated more to the southward on the same side of the island. On the morning of the 19th he went in his boat, with Captains MASSE and CHANAL, the chief surgeon ROBLET, and a detachment of men armed; and he took with him one of the natives who appeared to be most attached to the French.

The first bay which presents itself to the southward of that of LA MADRE DE DIOS appeared not to be fit for landing; they did not stop at it: the islanders named it ANAPÔHO. They presently reached another larger bay containing two coves, the shores of which are inhabited. They landed in the southern cove, where some large stones, which guard the beach, and against which the sea breaks with considerable violence, render it difficult and dangerous to debark; but, on the approach of the strangers, the natives jumped into the water, hastened to give them their hand, took them on their shoulders, carried them to the shore, and there set them down amid the acclamations of a numerous crowd of inhabitants of both sexes eager to receive them. As rain began to fall, a chief, venerable from his age, invited the strangers

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to take shelter distant from them as two men of their preference near the sea, all that might in an hour, they procured were of a mixture of four fowls. Accepted in preference of glasses, and known to the traffic, and the French had seemed tempted by the women, and they were not forgotten in the crowd they appeared here as possible, than they did not shew themselves more difficult to be seduced, however, than both sexes, were more than those of their acquaintance with to the same degree frequently rendered fortunate and timely. When the natives took the strangers to the boat. Ca

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to take shelter in a large house, which was not far distant from the spot where they had landed; but, as two men only had remained to guard the boat, they preferred standing under a large tree situated near the sea, whence they would be enabled to see all that might pass around them. In less than an hour, they procured twelve hogs, six of which were of a middling size, six much smaller, and four fowls. The articles which the natives accepted in preference, were large nails, looking-glasses, and knives; the chief himself presided at the traffic, and kept his eye on the goods which the French had brought; and not an islander seemed tempted to purloin a single article. The women, and the young girls in particular, were not forgotten in the distribution of the presents: they appeared handsomer, and still better made, if possible, than those of LA MADRE DE DIOS, did not shew themselves more coy, and were not more difficult to be understood. It was remarked, however, that the inhabitants of this bay, of both sexes, were more discreet, more reserved than those of the former; but perhaps a longer acquaintance with them would have brought them to the same degree of familiarity which had frequently rendered those of LA MADRE DE DIOS importunate and tiresome.

When the traffic was concluded, the natives took the strangers on their backs and carried them to the boat. Captain MARCHAND gave this cove

the deserved name of ANSE DES AMIS (Friendly Cove); the islanders call it APÂTÔNEE.

From this cove, they went to the north cove, called by the natives ANÂLEEVÂHO. It is more thinly inhabited than the south cove; some large stones piled up on the beach, and washed by the surf, rendered the access to it equally difficult, and it was not without some danger that the captain and his party contrived to land. They were received by the inhabitants in as friendly a manner as at the cove before-mentioned; but they could traffic for no more than two small hogs: a large basket of water-cress of an excellent quality, which they gathered, was a feeble indemnification for the trouble that they had taken in landing at this cove. A shower of rain which came on did not allow of their making a longer stay in the bay that they had just visited; but they had reason to think that, but for this circumstance, they would thence have brought back a no inconsiderable number of hogs and fowls. The vallies and hills which surround this bay, announce, to the view, more fertility, more richness, than the environs of LA MADRE DE DIOS: all this part of the island presents agreeable prospects, and picturesque situations on which the eye is invited to dwell and repose with pleasure.

Captain Cook had reason to be equally satisfied with the conduct of the natives who occupy the parts

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† A Voyage to the

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parts of the island situated to the southward of LA MADRE DE DIOS. "I made," says he, "a little expedition in my boat along the coast to the southward, accompanied by some of the gentlemen: at the different places we touched at, we collected eighteen pigs; and, I believe, might have gotten more. The people were exceedingly obliging wherever we landed, and readily brought down whatever we desired *." An observation of Mr. G. FORSTER, made, no doubt, from that of REINHOLD FORSTER, his father, who, with Dr. SPARMANN and Mr. HODGES the draughtsman, had accompanied Captain Cook in his tour to the southward, contradicts the account given by Captain COOK and Captain CHANAL of the inhabitants of the south part of the island, compared to those of LA MADRE DE DIOS: Mr. FORSTER thought that *those to the southward were less reserved than those to the northward*†; Captain COOK and Captain CHANAL thought the contrary; and the opinion of Surgeon ROBLET is conformable to theirs. "It is difficult," says he, "to explain the difference that is to be remarked in the habits of the natives who occupy two portions of land so contiguous to each other, and who must have a daily

* *Cook's Second Voyage*, 4to Edition, Vol. I. p. 303.

† *A Voyage to the South Pole and round the World. By George Forster. London. 1777. 4to. Vol. II. p. 30.*

"intercourse: but it is certain that those of LA
 "MADRE DE DIOS robbed us from the very out-
 "set, and that those of the bays to the southward
 "did not even attempt it; and yet several
 "among them had come to the former bay
 "during our stay, and had been witnesses of
 "our indulgence. Among the latter, we found
 "greater facility in traffic; and, besides, the
 "same mildness of disposition that distinguishes
 "the former; a longer intercourse would, how-
 "ever, be necessary for enabling me to decide
 "whether this characteristic belongs to a natural
 "timidity, or whether it must be attributed to
 "the fear which would check malevolence."

It was to the southward that the English met
 with the only women who offered themselves to
 their view in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA;
 for, at LA MADRE DE DIOS, they had perceived
 none except an old woman in the south cove;
 and in one of their botanizing excursions, they
 had only had a glimpse of a young girl who fled
 at their approach: but in the south bay, the
 women presented themselves in great numbers;
 and they were not less lavish of their favours than
 all those of the islands of the GREAT OCEAN.

As Captain MARCHAND intended to sail again
 the next day, the 20th, he dispatched a boat for
 the last time in order to replace the water which
 had been expended during his stay in the bay, and
 embarked in it himself with Captain CHANAL.

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But, instead of landing at the watering-place, they put on shore at the south cove which had not yet been visited; and the boat was ordered to go and wait for them at the mouth of the rivulet in the north cove. They saw very few inhabitants in this part, and only some deserted huts on the skirts of the cove. Although, for several days, there had fallen a rather considerable quantity of rain, the rivulet was dry. They purchased a hog of an old woman. Some inhabitants of the north cove came to the south cove, and joined the French, who, under their guidance and with their help, wished to endeavour to clear the little hill which separates the two coves. They were not long in perceiving that they had committed a great imprudence: as they ascended this hill, the slope of which is very steep *, the road became more difficult; presently they were obliged to enter into narrow paths, on the steep edges of the rock which the rain of the morning had rendered very slippery. The assistance of their guides became necessary to them; but they had no occasion to solicit it: the latter were eager to offer them a helpful hand, and several joined to support them when they saw them in a painful or dangerous situation. Suspended, in a manner, on the points of

* An idea may be formed of it by looking at *Plat XXXIII* of *Cook's Second Voyage*, which presents a perspective view of the Bay of *La Madre de Dios*.

rocks, where the dexterity of their guides could alone insure their doubtful and unsteady steps, they were abandoned to their discretion; these guides might, in all safety, rob them, strip them, and leave them to themselves, or, on the smallest resistance, precipitate them from the top of the rock: the arms of the two strangers, and packets of goods for traffic which they carried with them, were objects very capable of suggesting to the islanders the temptation of getting possession of them; their number insured them a superiority, and the situation, impunity; but we owe them the justice to say, that they never appeared to harbour any idea than that of the preservation of their visitors; and our countrymen would accuse themselves of ingratitude, if, on this occasion, they entertained even a suspicion. Captain CHANAL remarked with sensibility, that the young man who had been so severely wounded by the accidental discharge of a blunderbuss, and whose wound he had taken care to have dressed, walked above him, and several times, in embarrassing steps, offered him the support of the only arm of which the imprudence of the French had left him the use. And these are the men who, in 1595, the Spaniards, on the slightest pretext, pursued into their retreats in the mountains, and shot like wild beasts*. After a most laborious march, our party at length arrived

* *Figueró*, page 247.

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at the foot of the hill of the north cove. The fidelity and attention of the natives merited a recompense: they distributed among them all the glass-beads and other trifles with which they were provided: every one appeared satisfied; and they all parted with marks of friendship, on the one side, and of gratitude, on the other.

The fatigues of the day were not yet at an end. The two Captains repaired to the watering-place, in order to expedite the filling of the casks; but, although the inhabitants of the cove had, as usual, executed the greater part of the labour, night came on before it could be terminated. Darkness favoured the stealing of two barrels hooped with iron, which it was not thought proper to claim. The swell was rolling in with violence on the beach; to embark had become impracticable, and the boat was ordered to take in the officers on the edge of the rocks of the north coast, where they might go and wait for her. They began their march in order to proceed to the place of appointment. The tide was in; and, in passing over the edges of the rock, the water, at intervals, reached up to their middle. A night, unusually dark, added to the natural obstacles of the road: their steps were so insecure on uneven and projecting points, that there ensued some falls and contusions. While they were thus struggling against difficulties, they heard, towards the watering-place, the report of a pistol; but the boat soon

repaired to the spot appointed for their embarkation; and they learnt that the natives had taken possession of a cask which had broken adrift from the boat; that the people belonging to her having come to take it back, had been assaulted with stones; that then they had fired a pistol in the air, in order to make the islanders relinquish their prize; but that the latter had not been at all terrified at the report; and that, having no orders to employ force against the natives, they had abandoned the cask to them. The officers then recollected that, being in a great hurry, at the moment when they had quitted the watering-place to proceed to the rocks on the north coast, they had forgot to reward the islanders who had assisted in the labour; and they concluded that the latter had, undoubtedly, decided that, in such a case, they had a natural right to pay themselves.

The weather was very bad during the whole night; the wind, variable from north-east to north-north-west, and accompanied by hard squalls, did not allow of getting under way on the morning of the 20th, as Captain MARCHAND had intended. This same weather, which continued the whole morning, detained the natives on shore, and there came but a very small number on board, and only in canoes; none venturing to swim off to the ship. An islander brought back one of the barrels, which had been stolen the day before; he was rewarded with a large nail; and

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and he was promised others, if he brought back the remaining barrel and the hoghead ; but he was seen no more. That day, were purchased a hog and a fowl, and, on the preceding days, some had been obtained from the inhabitants of the north cove.

In the afternoon, the breeze settled at north-east : and although some sudden squalls still came off the hills of the island, every thing was prepared for getting under way. The young MENDOÇA females, nothing intimidated by the violence of the wind and the roughness of the sea, had repaired on board in canoes ; they were not willing to lose a parting kiss. When it was signified to them that the ship was on the point of sailing, and that it was time they should leave her, grief was portrayed on every face ; and it could not be remarked without astonishment and without interest, that this separation cost tears to several among them ; may they never have cause to reproach themselves with having been too partial to the French !

In the mean time, the chief who had recovered Captain MARCHAND's musket, brought to the ship one of the biggest hogs that had yet been seen : he was in vain urged to sell it for spike-nails, large knives, looking-glasses and handkerchiefs ; nothing could tempt him ; he absolutely insisted on its being exchanged for one of the cats belonging to the ship ; and, on this being refused, he carried
back

back his hog. I doubt not that this intelligent chief had discovered that the cat is the formidable enemy of the greatest enemy to man in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA: it is well known that rats are there extremely numerous, and devour the productions of the earth.

The SOLIDE took up her anchors in the night: and, as this service required that there should be lanterns lighted on deck, it was observed that, during the whole time she was working out of the bay, and the lights could be perceived from the shore, the natives paraded with lights along the beach.

On the 21st, in the morning, the ship proceeded for her farther destination.

But before we follow the SOLIDE in her new run, I shall present a general view of the islands which she has just quitted, and in particular of that of SANTA CHRISTINA, the only one which, since they were discovered by the Spaniards, has been visited by Europeans. The circumstantial knowledge of this group is interesting to our navigators, and particularly to those who, being dispatched from the ports of EUROPE, are to double Cape HORN, and afterwards proceed to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA. The SOCIETY Islands, although more fertile, yet deserve not the preference; to touch at them, in this case, presents not the same advantage in point of situation: they are placed about three hundred leagues to leeward of the

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the former necessary, for cross a very islands even it is impossible during the night long, and whereas, from Islands, a short sea, which all in the dark at the latter island hundred leagues SOCIETY Isles, to the NORTH shorten her it is to abridge voyage. If Captain give the preference the MARQUESA ting into some geographical position having doubled to the NORTH- "because," say "TINA was not" conditions, w "as we might" Isles, nor ver "and water,

the former; and, in order to reach them, it is necessary, for the space of two hundred leagues, to cross a very dangerous Archipelago, composed of islands even with the water's edge, through which it is impossible to navigate but under very easy sail during the night, which, all the year round, is long, and without twilight, between the tropics; whereas, from Cape Horn to the MENDOÇA Islands, a ship does not cease to have an open sea, which allows her to make use of all her canvass in the dark as well as in the light. To put into the latter islands, instead of running down three hundred leagues to leeward to touch at the SOCIETY Isles, when a vessel is ultimately bound to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, is to shorten her route about six hundred leagues; it is to abridge by a month the duration of her voyage. If Captain COOK seems, in general, to give the preference to the SOCIETY Islands over the MARQUESAS, in case of the necessity of putting into some port, it is not on account of their geographical position, nor for vessels which, after having doubled Cape Horn, should be bound to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; "But because," says he, "I found SANTA CRISTINA was not likely to supply us, on any conditions, with sufficient refreshments, such as we might expect to find at the SOCIETY Isles, nor very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for giving the ship the necessary

"cessary repairs she wanted*." It is seen, however, in the account of his voyage, that, at the time when he visited SANTA CHRISTINA, hogs were very plentiful there; that he procured, without the least difficulty, a great number; and he himself admits that he might have considerably increased his stock, had he chosen to remain a few days longer at this anchorage. The French did not by any means perceive the scarcity of fruit of which he complains: perhaps this species of production is less common in the month of April, the period of his visit, than in the month of June, the period of theirs. In short, we can safely affirm that the latter experienced no difficulty in procuring wood and water. It is true that the part of the west coast, which the English and the French examined, affords no secure shelter for giving repairs to a ship; but a ship does not always stand in need of repairs. I observe, besides, that the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA is the only one which has been hitherto visited; and that it is not proved that LA DOMINICA, the most considerable of the MENDOÇA Islands, which was reconnoitred only in sailing past it, and merely on the south side, might not, in its great circumference, afford some place where it would be possible to provide for repairs requiring the shelter and tranquillity of a harbour. I admit, however, that

* *Cook's Second Voyage*, Vol. I, Page 304.

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there are very little hopes of finding harbours, fit for giving repairs to a ship, in the circumference of the lofty islands whose coasts are steep-to; unless, like the greater part of the SOCIETY Isles, they are surrounded by a reef, forming between this sort of dike and the shore, a channel into which a ship may penetrate through narrow openings, and where she is sheltered, by this dike, from the roughness of the waves which it breaks, and whose impetuosity it impedes. I shall therefore recommend a navigator, whom a leak, or the consequence of an accident, should oblige to seek a shelter where he can provide for repairs which require smooth water, to prefer putting into the SOCIETY Islands; but merely because particular considerations must yield to necessity *.

If

* It is to be observed that this part of the original work was printed long before M. FLEURIEU had an opportunity of knowing of the anchorages which the *north-west* group of the *Marquesas* affords. In one of the islands of this group, called *Isle Baux* by Captain *Marchand*, and *Sir Henry Martin's* Island, by Lieutenant *Hergest*, is a harbour which precludes the necessity of a ship, in want of repair, running down to the *Society* Isles; for, to use the words of Mr. *Hergest*, who gave this harbour the name of *Port Anna Maria*, "it was found to be very easy of access and egress, without any shoals or rocks, that " are not sufficiently conspicuous to be avoided: the depth at " its entrance is 24 fathoms, gradually decreasing to 7 fathoms, within a quarter of a mile of its shores; the bottom a fine sand, and the surrounding land affording the most perfect security against the wind and sea in all directions. An excellent run of fine water flows into the harbour,

If the reasons of convenience and of locality which I have just set forth, should not appear sufficient to insure to the MARQUESAS the preference over the SOCIETY Islands, when the farther destination of the ship is to carry her to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; I should speak of a danger which the latter presents, of that irresistible attraction which they seem to have for European navigators; and the example of Captain BLIGH, abandoned by a mutinous crew, in a small boat, to the mercy of the waves, in order that they might, without opposition, plunge themselves into the delights of the new CYTHERA, ought to inspire with a sort of inquietude every Captain who may intend to put into TAHEITEE. I know that the MENDOÇA women, as shameless as those of the SOCIETY Isles, do not oppose more resistance to strangers; but in these latter islands reign an abundance, and a luxury, from which the former are yet very remote, and which they will never attain: Nature, less prodigal, has granted these only the necessaries of life; they will not endeavour to share them, and

"bour, which possesses every advantage that could be desired:
 "and the country," he adds, "seems to be highly cultivated,
 "and was fully inhabited by a civil and friendly race of
 "people, readily inclined to supply whatever refreshments
 "their country afforded."

The centre of this island is situated in latitude $8^{\circ} 51'$ south, and longitude $220^{\circ} 19'$ east from *Greenwich*; and *Port Anna Maria* lies about two leagues to the westward of its south east point. — *Translator's Note.*

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they will not be envied on that account; but the superfluities, which abound at the SOCIETY Islands, have wherewith to tempt the sailor, who, a cosmopolitan by profession, has most commonly for his motto: *ubi bene, ibi Patria*.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL Description of the Marquesas de Mendocça, and a particular one of the Island of Santa Christina, or Wahitahô, taken from the accounts of the Spaniards, English, and French.—Description of the Bay of La Madre de Dios.—Soil, productions, animals, and climate of the island.—Description of the inhabitants; their persons, dress, and ornaments; their food, industry, manners, character, customs, exercises, &c.—Idea of their government.—Presumed population of the five islands of the group.—Vocabulary of Wahitahô.—The natives of this island compared to those of Taheitee.

THE islands called LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOCÇA, were seen, for the first time, in 1595, by ALVARO MENDANA DE NEYRA. We have two accounts of the voyage in which this discovery was made. The former is to be found in a letter from PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, to DON ANTONIO MORGÁ, Lieutenant-General of the Philippine Islands*. QUIROS, who has since been rendered justly celebrated by his own disco-

* See *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas. Mexico, 1699, 4to. Chap. VI. page 29.*

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† *Hechos de D. Ga* to 247. Coreal, Thevenot, a narrative.

Alexander Dalrymple Voyages and Discoveries 4to. Vol. I.) had co from that of *Pingré*; work, he has given, passages which *Pingré* morial, where he report has not made mention only of the Islands of S in the same voyage, a to that of the *Mendoc*

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veries, was both Captain of the *Capitana*, under the immediate orders of MENDANA, and mayor or chief pilot of the Squadron: his account is succinct, such as best suits the form of a letter. For the latter we are indebted to Doctor CHRISTOVAL SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA, who has inserted it in his *History of the great exploits of Don GARCIA HURTADO DE MENDOÇA, fourth Marquis de CANNETE*†, Viceroy of PERU, by whose order the expedition, the direction of which was intrusted to MENDANA, had been undertaken. Doctor FIGUEROA announces that, in speaking of the discoveries of this admiral, he has had under his eyes the original papers of QUIROS: we, in fact, distinguish, in this account, the spirit of observation of a seaman whose knowledge, in more than one way, was above that of the age in which he lived,

† *Hechos de D. Garcia Hurtado de MENDOÇA*, &c. pages 238 to 247.

Coreal, Thovenot, and Pingré have given extracts from this narrative.

Alexander Dalrymple, in his *Historical Collection of several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, (London 1770. 4to. Vol. I.) had confined himself to giving an extract of it from that of Pingré; but having since procured the original work, he has given, as a supplement to his Collection, the passages which Pingré had not translated. Arias, in his *Memorial*, where he reports the expedition of Mendana, in 1595 has not made mention of *Las Marquesas de Mendoça*; he speaks only of the Islands of *Santa Cruz*, which Mendana discovered in the same voyage, and the discovery of which is posterior to that of the *Mendoça Islands*.

and who, in the recital of the later discoveries which were his own, if he has indulged in a few exaggerations, pardonable in those times of enthusiasm, when a New World had just been discovered and conquered, has at least given us, of the men and of the places that he visited, a description which would not be a discredit to the navigators of the present day.

To the ancient accounts of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA have succeeded those for which we are indebted to modern voyagers, and in which are to be found particulars relative to these islands, their inhabitants and productions, with some observations, which could not be expected from the first discoverers. Such is the account of Captain COOK, who, in 1774, visited this group; that of Mr. GEORGE FORSTER *; and the fragments of Mr. REINHOLD FORSTER †, who both accompanied that celebrated navigator; lastly, the journal of Captain CHANAL, and the particular observations of Surgeon ROBLET. The united labour of these different observers presents a rich collection of materials, which it is necessary to arrange in order to form a complete account: no one observer has seen or said every thing; but

* *George Forster, A Voyage round the World.* London. 1777. vol. ii. pages 1 to 50.

† *Reinhold Forster, Observations made in a Voyage round the World, &c.* London. 1778. pages 152—163—187—193—232—397—421.

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the one supplies what may have escaped the other. Sometimes the observers do not agree among themselves: I shall report the opinion of each; I shall take the liberty of discussing it, and, in setting the voyagers in opposition, I shall endeavour to distinguish what may be owing to a different manner of observing, from what must be attributed to the changes that may have been effected in the state of places and things during the interval of the two centuries which have elapsed since the expedition of the Spaniards, and that of seventeen years, from the visit of the English to the time when the French landed there; in short, by bringing together, by comparing all that is said in the different accounts, I shall examine whether an opinion, a judgment may be formed of the persons, manners, character, and customs of a people, who, from several features, resemble the greater part of the tribes that occupy the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, but who, in some respects, appear to me to differ from them, and to offer some varieties in the species. I have the more willingly devoted myself to this task, as the too short stay of the English at SANTA CHRISTINA permitted them not to give to their observations on the country and on the men by whom it is inhabited, all the extent required for the knowledge of a land still new to Europeans, and of which the ancient visit of the Spaniards afforded us notions too imperfect to enable us to fix our ideas. Mr.

GEORGE FORSTER regrets having had too little time to study a people who, from what he himself had an opportunity of judging of them, "seemed to be well worth the contemplation of philosophic travellers *." I am far from pretending to supply all that may be wanting in the account of this learned observer, and in that of Captain COOK; I shall be satisfied if I have been able to add some touches to the picture already begun. Perhaps these voyagers might be reproached with being too much struck by what they saw and studied at TAHEITEE, so that they see TAHEITEE every where, and every thing at TAHEITEE; and I wish, on the contrary, that I may not have subjected myself to the same reproach, of having, if I may use the expression, chosen to particularize too much the natives of the MENDOÇA Islands; of having exaggerated their virtues and their vices in order to give them a character that may be peculiar to themselves; and distinguish them from the nations to which, under other points of view, they may bear some resemblance. I have painted them as they have appeared to me from the facts which I have been able to collect, and future navigators will have it in their power to correct the copy, when they have the original before their eyes.

* See G. Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. page 32.

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The MENDOÇA Islands, commonly called in French LES MARQUISES, are five in number: SAN PEDRO, or o-NITEIO, in the language of the country, SANTA CHRISTINA, or WAHITAHÔ, and LA DOMINICA, or o-HIVAHÖA *, forming a group; LA MADALENA, at the distance of eight leagues to the south by east from the middle of the group; and HOOD's Island, distant five leagues and a half from the most eastern point of LA DOMINICA. This last, HOOD's Island, the most northern of the

* It appears that it is very difficult to catch properly the sounds and articulations of a word which is pronounced by the natives of the islands of the *Great Ocean*: we may judge of this from the different manner in which they are written by the Europeans who have heard them. We shall not be astonished that it was not the same when the navigators are not of the same nation, because each has its pronunciation and its orthography; but these differences are to be found in the manner in which voyagers of the same nation, belonging to the same ship, pronounce and write the same words. We have an instance of this in the names which the different accounts have given to the MENDOÇA Islands, from the natives of these islands from whom they learnt them: each has written them as he could understand them.

SAN PEDRO. SANTA CHRISTINA. DOMINICA.

	<i>G. Forster.</i>	Onateyo	Waitahoo (a)	Hecvaroa.
English Pronunciation.	<i>R. Forster.</i>	o-Nateya	Waitahoo	Hava-roa:
	<i>On Tupia's</i>		or	
	<i>Chart.</i>		Wattare-ooa	
	<i>W. Wales.</i>	Onateyo	Ohitahoo	Ohevahoa.
French Pronunciation.	<i>Roblet.</i>	Oneteyo	e-Vaitahou	Ohivahoa,
	<i>Chapel.</i>	o-Niteio	Wahitaho	o-Hivahöa.

(a) We are not certain whether this name be that of the whole island, or the particular name of the Bay of *La Madre de Dios*,

archipelago, had not been perceived by MENDANA, who first discovered LA MADALENA, steered to the northward for SAN PEDRO, then ranged along the south coast of LA DOMINICA, passed through the channel which separates this island from that of SANTA CRISTINA, and put into a bay, situated about the middle of the west coast of this last, which he named PUERTO DE LA MADRE DE DIOS. In steering this course, MENDANA could not perceive the most northern island, which must have been concealed from him by the high lands of LA DOMINICA. Captain COOK, who was a little to the north-east of the group, when he had the first view of it, first discovered that island to the northward, which he named HOOD'S Island, from the name of the young midshipman who discovered it. He then passed through the channel of LA DOMINICA, and stood in and dropped anchor on the west coast of SANTA CRISTINA, in a bay which is the same as that occupied by MENDANA, under the name of PUERTO DE LA MADRE DE DIOS. COOK perfectly admitted and proclaimed the identity of the two bays; but not being able, no doubt, to escape the influence of the national genius, and being desirous that LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA should, in some measure, bear the seal of ENGLAND, he deprived this bay of the name which it had received from the first discoverer, and which it has preserved for two centuries, in order to substitute that of his own ship; he

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he named it RESOLUTION BAY : and yet it was not the RESOLUTION that discovered it. Most assuredly I shall not accuse, I shall not suspect COOK of having wished to retaliate on the Spaniards, who unmercifully substitute the names of their saints to those which the heretics have given to the harbours that they have discovered ; and undoubtedly he thought that, to preserve their names to the islands was proving sufficiently his respect for ancient denominations : I shall merely say that I know not whether it can afford great satisfaction to vanity to impose a new name on a harbour, on a cape, &c. which another has, long since, discovered and named ; but certainly it is introducing into the nomenclature of places a confusion which, sometimes, must embarrass navigators, after having embarrassed geographers, and which, in the end, opens a door to anachronisms. Let new comers do what they please ; sooner or later, History and Geography, doing justice in regard to these substitutions, restore to each place the name which it ought to bear, and the discovery to whom it belongs *.

The

* In 1788, the Spanish government published an excellent account of a voyage made to the Strait of Magellan, in 1785 and 1786, by the frigate *Santa Maria de la Cabeza*, in order to examine minutely the two coasts of the strait, visit the bays, harbours, &c. ; and this account is accompanied by a new chart which appears constructed with much attention : endeavour to consult this map in reading the voyages of *Drake*, *Cavendish*, *Simon de Cordes*, *Narborough*, *Beauchefne*, *Byron*, *Wallis*, *Bougainville*, and others ; see there the names of

The whole group of the MENDOÇA Islands occupies rather more than a degree in latitude, and rather less than half a degree in longitude. The situation of the Port of LA MADRE DE DIOS was determined, in 1774, with a correctness sufficient for the safety of navigation, by Mr. WALES, astronomer on board the RESOLUTION: its latitude is $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$ south, and its longitude $141^{\circ} 28' 55''$ west from PARIS †. The situation of the other islands was deduced from that of this first point, by means of the chronometer, and by courses, bearings, and distances estimated by the eye. Our navigators who made use of the chart of the MENDOÇA Islands, which Captain Cook constructed, and which he has published with the account of his second voyage, thought it very correct; and they bear the same testimony to the Plan and the View of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, to the

the harbours and bays where these navigators anchored; seek there the names of the capes of which they give bearings; you will fancy yourself transported into a channel different from that of the Strait of *Magellan*. However, the Spaniards are not the only navigators to whom the reproach of changing primitive names ought to be addressed: it may be said that, in general, they all have merited it more or less: and, if I particularly specify the former, it is because having, as they had a right to do, imposed on almost all the points of the coasts of the New World which they discovered, such names as they were pleased to give, and no one ever having attempted to change these names, they ought at least to respect the small number of those which indicate the discoveries of other nations.

† See Note XXX.

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description which that accurate navigator has given of the lands under different aspects, and of his sailing directions, as well relative to the navigation between the islands, as to the land-marks which serve to distinguish this bay from those which, on the same coast, are situated more to the southward.

Let us examine in succession each of the islands under such points of view as may not be uninteresting.

MENDANA is the only navigator who had an opportunity of acquiring a particular knowledge of the Island of LA MADALENA, which is situated in $10^{\circ} 25' 30''$ south latitude, and $141^{\circ} 9' 15''$ west longitude: the English and French perceived it only at a distance, and ought to have been silent in regard to what concerns it: therefore it is only in QUIROS's letter to MORGAN, and from the account of FIGUEROA, that we can learn some particulars respecting this first island. According to FIGUEROA, its circuit is ten Spanish leagues of seventeen and a half to a degree, or eleven marine leagues and one third of twenty to a degree; it is no more than six Spanish leagues in QUIROS's letter, and it is about six marine leagues in COOK's chart: but as the latter perceived this island only at a distance of eleven leagues to the southward, he had it not in his power to estimate its circuit; and it is probable that he regulated it from QUIROS's letter, which is much better known from the translation

given of it by Mr. DALRYMPLE in his *Historical Collection*, &c. than is the narrative of FIGUEROA. I shall not decide between FIGUEROA and QUIROS; no mean presents itself for me to judge on which side lies the mistake or the error of the press.

MENDANA* made the land on the south coast of LA MADALENA, and approached very near the shore, in the part of the island where is situated a harbour which is distinguishable by a mountain that commands it. Scarcely could the ships be perceived from it, when there came out a flotilla of seventy canoes of different sizes, carrying about four hundred men: the largest carried ten, and the smallest, only three: each man was provided with a paddle, and, in paddling, they all kept stroke; others followed swimming. These canoes had, on each side, an outrigger, constructed of bamboos, which, taking its *fulcrum* or point of rest on the surface of the sea, prevents them from oversetting.

The canoes soon approached the ship within hail. The men, who were in them, made signs with their hand, and, pointing to the harbour, invited the strangers to land there: they spoke very loud, and frequently repeated the words *Atalut* and *Analut*. They offered the Spaniards coconuts, a sort of paste wrapped up in leaves of trees, a basket of walnuts, some excellent plan-

* *Figueroa Hechos*, &c. pages 241 to 245.

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tains, and filled with one of the come into the presents, encouraged by prevailed on him; and per of forty on the Spaniards in comparison them was a ship; and the size. They such of their canoes, and which they had ere long, the GREAT OCEAN pilfering every on: presently Admiral gave they must leave canoes. But comply with great gun to them by an expect: in fact, it they jumped over

tains, and some pieces of bamboo, serving as cups, and filled with fresh water. The Spaniards seized one of these islanders by the hand, made him come into the ship, and, by dint of caresses and presents, succeeded in detaining him there. Encouraged by these marks of good will, this one prevailed on several of his companions to join him; and presently there were reckoned upwards of forty on board the *Capitana*. The stature of the Spaniards appeared below the middle size, in comparison with that of the islanders: one of them was a head taller than the tallest man in the ship; and the latter, however, was of a remarkable size. They sang and danced, and called loudly to such of their companions as had remained in the canoes, and to whom they displayed the presents which they had received from the strangers. But, ere long, the prevailing vice of the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN was manifested; they began by pilfering every thing that they could lay their hands on: presently they became so troublesome, that the Admiral gave them to understand by signs, that they must leave the ship, and again take to their canoes. But as they appeared little disposed to comply with this order, MENDANA directed a great gun to be fired off, in order to terrify them by an explosion which they could not expect: in fact, it occasioned them such a fright, that they jumped overboard from the gang-way, and swam

swam away to their scattered canoes. One single islander remained clinging to the main rigging *, and did not let go his hold, in order to drop into the water, till a soldier had wounded him in the hand with a sword. Having, by swimming, reached one of the canoes, he shewed his wound to his companions who took him on board : the sight of blood excited the indignation of them all ; this was the signal for combat. One of them, who carried an umbrella made of palm-leaves, directed the canoes to draw up in order of battle ; while an old man, remarkable for his long beard, fiercely threatened the Spaniards with his looks and gestures : sometimes he grasped his beard with both his hands ; at other times he curled his whiskers ; standing up in his canoe, he alone appeared to give orders to the fleet, and seemed to provide for every thing. The harsh sound of a sea-conch decided the

* *Pingré*, in the extract which he has given from *Figueron's* narrative (*Mémoires pour le passage de Venus, page 32.*) translates this passage thus : " One alone held fast to the foot of " a table, without there being a possibility of making him let " go his hold, till a soldier wounded him in the hand, &c." I am of opinion that he has not understood the original, which says : "*Quedò sólo uno colgado en las mesas mayores de " guarnicion, sin que fuisse possible hazerle desaferrar, hasta que " un soldado lo hirio con la espada en una mano : dexò se caer con " esta.*" I observe that *las mesas mayores de la guarnicion* (literally the great tables of the rigging) are the main chain-wales or chains ; and the expressions *colgado* (hanging or suspended) and *dexo se caer* (he dropped) cannot be applied to a man who had seized hold of the leg of a table in the ship, and was forced to let it go.

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moment of attack. Most of the islanders brandished their lances, and dared their aggressors to battle; some darted them in the manner of a javelin against the Spaniards; others, dexterous in handling a sling, threw at the *Capitana* some stones, by which a soldier was struck: at length, the people in one of the canoes had the boldness to come and fasten a line to the ship's bowsprit, and made useless efforts to tow her towards the shore. The conquerors of the New World, accustomed to consider an *Indian* as an animal of a species inferior to man, could no longer endure the provocation and the insult of a being degraded in their eyes, over whom, for a century past, they triumphed by terror; MENDANA ordered a discharge of musketry. Fortunately the powder was damp; few of the pieces went off, but yet in sufficient number for five or six islanders to be laid low. We cannot forgive QUIROS, who had been a witness of this horrible scene, nor the historian FIGUEROA, whom it ought to have shocked, the sort of satisfaction with which they both describe the noise and confusion that reigned in the canoes, and the fright of those poor creatures, some of whom, throwing themselves into the sea, remained clinging and hanging with their hands to the gunnels of their canoes; while others concealed themselves behind their companions, in order to make a buckler of them, when they saw themselves aimed at. But this powder, the dampness of which had prevented

vented a greater destruction of men, was too soon replaced by some of a more active quality : the slaughter recommenced : and, in a second discharge, the brave Admiral of the canoes and nine other of his warriors were struck by the fatal lead, and lost their lives ; a greater number were wounded and driven into the sea. The fleet of canoes dispersed : and the Spaniards were beginning to direct their course to the offing, as the storm retires after having desolated the earth, when the islanders detached one of their canoes, conducted only by three men, one of whom, uttering some words, displayed in one hand a green bough, and in the other, a piece of white cloth. It was thought that this was a signal of peace, a request for capitulation. The islanders signified, by marks of invitation and friendship, that they wished that the ships would come and anchor in their harbour ; but this was refused : and these worthy Indians, appearing to have forgot all the mischief that had been done them, and all that which it had been meant to do them, before they retired, offered as a homage to their assassins, cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other productions of this hospitable island, where the Spaniards, in return for that favour, left widows and orphans.

QUIROS had had leisure to examine the persons of the islanders, who had passed some hours on board of the *Capitana* ; and he gives us a description

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The natives of the island of LA MADALENA are almost white; they have regular and agreeable features, fine eyes, a mild look, white and regular teeth. The greater part have light hair*; they wear it long and loose like women; but some of them turn it up and twist it on their head. Their rosy complexion bespeaks health and strength, which is also manifested by the sound of their voice. They are well made, of a tall stature, and handsome shape. Their hands, legs, and feet are strong, and their fingers long. They go entirely naked. Their face and their body are *tattooed* with blue, and covered with drawings of fishes and other figures. The beauty of the young boys was particularly remarked by the Spaniards; and QUIROS could not help lamenting, when he saw that such perfect works of the Creator are thus scattered and lost in the midst of Infidels.

The island which MENDANA had just discovered received the name of LA MADALENA, because he had the first view of it, on the eve of St.

* The original has *rubio*, which signifies *fair*: it might be imagined that the narrative meant *red*; but the Spaniards express this latter colour of hair by *bermejo* or *pelo de cofre*; this expression *trunk-hair*, alludes to the covering of a trunk, for which purpose is employed a cow's hide with its hair that is commonly red or rufous.

Magdalen's Day. According to the account of the Spaniards, the part which they reconnoitred presents a bold coast of a beautiful aspect: the land near the sea-shore is elevated, though commanded by several mountains. The habitations are dispersed in the vallies. The harbour is situated on the south coast. It was thought that the island must be well peopled; for, independently of the considerable number of inhabitants who came out to meet the ships, the beach appeared to be covered with them.

QUIROS, according to FIGUEROA, deduced the latitude of the island from an observation of the sun's meridian altitude, and fixed it at 10° south: Captain Cook reckons that it must be in $10^{\circ} 25'$, and this same difference of 25 minutes, is again to be found in the latitudes which they both have assigned to the harbour of LA MADRE DE DIOS in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA: according to QUIROS, it is $9^{\circ} 30'$; and $9^{\circ} 55'$, according to Captain Cook.

QUIROS had calculated that the distance from LA MADALENA to LIMA was one thousand SPANISH leagues*, or about one thousand one hundred and forty three marine leagues, which, between the parallels of 10 and 12 degrees, answer to 58 degrees of longitude: LIMA is in $79^{\circ} 9' 30''$ west from PARIS; thus LA MADALENA, according

* *Figueroa, Hechos, &c.* page 245.

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to the calculation of the Spaniards, would be in $137^{\circ} 9' 30''$. In deducing the position of this island from that of SANTA CHRISTINA, which COOK's observations have determined, we find that it ought to be placed in $141^{\circ} 9' 15''$ *; the error in QUIROS's reckoning must therefore be four degrees, or about seventy-nine marine leagues†; but as the error in his latitude was only 25 mi.

* *The Original Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage towards the South Pole, &c. p. 323.*

† It may be remarked that the error in the longitude assigned by Quiros is in the same direction as that of the longitude by account on board the *Solide*; it is four degrees, or seventy-nine leagues, *astern* of the ship; and the one differs not materially from the other in regard to quantity: the error of the *Solide* is greater by about two thirds of a degree. Captain Marchand had crossed the *Great Ocean* diagonally, following nearly a north-west line; and *Mendana* steered nearly west. It might thence be concluded that, in whatever direction a ship crosses this part of the ocean, the tendency of the currents is, in general, towards the *west*; and that, if, in determining the longitude, no other means be employed than the ordinary methods of navigation, there must always be errors *astern* of the ship. *Mendana's* voyage, from the coast of *America* to the islands, lasted thirty-five days, and the error was seventy-nine leagues *astern*; the mean error, or the effect of the movements of the waters which drifted the ship to the westward, was then about two leagues and a quarter, or nearly seven miles in twenty-four hours; and this rate approaches that of the general movement of the waters between the tropics, which is well known to be from east to west, and which is estimated at eight or nine miles a day. The *Solide* experienced, from the currents, effects more considerable: for it may be seen in the general *Table*, which presents the effect of the currents on the direction and progress of the ship, in the

25 minutes or eight leagues and one third, a ship which should, a hundred leagues to the eastward

different latitudes that she crossed, (Vol. ii.) that since she had reached the parallel of the South tropic, and in standing again towards the equator, she was carried daily to the westward at a rate commonly greater than seven miles; it even amounted to 26 and 34 miles, as soon as she began to sail in the vicinity of the parallel of 10° . If we take a mean term, between all the progresses to the westward, according to observation, compared with the progresses by account from the time that she had reached the tropic till she came to the parallel of the islands, it will be found that the mean rate at which she was carried to the westward in twenty-four hours, is nearly ten miles and a half: it is to the eastward of the islands that the movement of the waters produced the greatest effect; and their direction was towards the west, declining from 7 to 18 degrees towards the south.

Mendana's route gives room to a second remark. He had sailed (*Figueroa*, page 241) on the 16th June, from *Payta*, which is more to the westward than *Lima* by about eighty leagues; he says that the *Mendoza* Islands are distant from *Lima* one thousand one hundred and forty-three marine leagues (one thousand *Spanish* leagues); they are then distant from *Payta*, according to his calculation, one thousand and sixty-three marine leagues; but as his reckoning was seventy-nine leagues *astern* of the ship, when he made the land on the *Mendoza* Islands, if we restore them in order to correct the error of the course, we have for the real distance from *Payta* to the islands, one thousand one hundred and forty-two leagues. This distance was run in the space of thirty-five days (the Island of *La Magdalena* had been discovered on the 21st of July. *Figueroa*, page 241); thus the mean progress of the ship was thirty-two leagues and two-thirds a day: It would be only thirty leagues, if we did not correct the error of the course. This observation is not useless when it is wished to estimate in leagues the *day's* rate of sailing of the ancient navigators, who frequently employ the expression of *Day* to indicate the distance from one place to another.

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* *Figueroa*, pag
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of the 137th meridian west from Paris, get into the parallel of $9^{\circ} 30'$, which is the mean between the latitude of LA MADALENA and that of SANTA CHRISTINA, as indicated by QUIROS, could not fail to meet with the Archipelago of the MARQUESAS : and thus it was that Captain Cook found it.

On quitting the island of LA MADALENA, the Spaniards discovered that which they named SAN PEDRO, situated in $9^{\circ} 58'$ south latitude, and $141^{\circ} 11' 15''$ west longitude : they suppose that its circuit is three or four leagues ; and Captain COOK estimates it at three. They did not approach it sufficiently to know whether it be inhabited ; but, according to their account *, this island has the most promising appearance, and its ground, which is level and by no means elevated, is diversified by large patches of wood and spots of verdure. From this description, it might be supposed that, if the island be not inhabited, it is susceptible of being so ; but modern voyagers do not paint it in colours so agreeable as those which the Spaniards have employed ; Mr. GEORGE FORSTER says merely that, SAN PEDRO is a small island, of very moderate elevation, which does not appear either fertile or populous †, and Captain CHANAL entertains the same opinion : " this island is too small," he tells us, " and presents too sterile

* *Figueras*, page 245.

† *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 6.

"an aspect, for it, if it be inhabited, to be able to reckon a great number of inhabitants."

MENDANA, who coasted the south side of the Island of LA DOMINICA, reckoned that it might be fifteen leagues in circumference * ; Captain Cook, who in like manner ranged along its south coast, supposes that its circuit may be about fifteen or sixteen leagues. It is situated in $9^{\circ} 40' 37''$ south latitude, and $141^{\circ} 9' 15''$ west longitude. FIGUEROA presents to us LA DOMINICA as an island of an enchanting aspect: according to him, vast plains display a smiling verdure, and divide hills, which rise with a gentle acclivity, and are crowned by tufted woods; while a numerous population announces the richness and fertility of the soil.

Mr. GEORGE FORSTER saw not this land with the same eyes as MENDANA and QUIROS. According to this observer, "DOMINICA is a high and mountainous island, of which the north-east point is very steep and barren; but farther to the north, (a part which MENDANA had no opportunity of seeing,) we observed," says he, "some vallies filled with trees, amongst which we now and then discovered a hut. As the haze cleared away, we saw many craggy rocks like spires, and several hollow summits piled up in the centre of the island, which prove that vol-

* *Figueroa*, page 245.

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" canoes and earthquakes had been active there
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" eastern part is a prodigious steep and almost perpendicular wall, of a great height, which forms
" a sharp ridge, shattered into spires and precipices *."

Would not he who has read these two descriptions be tempted to believe that the Spaniards and the English saw not the same land, if, according to the situation of LA DOMINICA in regard to the other islands of the group, according to its extent and the direction of the coast, which are the same in the two accounts, according to the tracks of MENDANA and COOK, delineated in their journals, there could arise the smallest doubt as to the identity? But if we admit that they both saw equally well, we must also admit, which is not improbable, that, in the interval of the two centuries that have elapsed between the two voyages, the Island of LA DOMINICA has experienced the terrible effect of one of those great convulsions of nature which totally disfigure the parts of the surface of the globe on which their ravage is exercised.

The small island, discovered by Captain Cook, and by him called HOOD'S Island, situated in $9^{\circ} 26'$ south latitude, and $141^{\circ} 12' 15''$ west longitude, at the distance of five leagues and a

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 6.

half to the north 13° west of LA DOMINICA, merits no particular mention : in the narrative of Mr. GEORGE FORSTER we read that it is "a small bluff island," but the fog by which it was enveloped did not allow the English to take an exact view of it ; and Captain MARCHAND perceived it only at a distance.

Here then are we arrived at the island of SANTA CHRISTINA, of which the Spaniards, the English, and the French have furnished us with circumstantial details. Their accounts sometimes differ from each other : I shall take care to point out the differences ; and I leave to navigators who may, in the sequel, land on this island, to verify which of the voyagers have been most accurate in their observations.

The island of SANTA CHRISTINA presents itself under an agreeable aspect ; it is very lofty, as well as all the other islands of the group. A narrow chain of high hills extends throughout its whole length ; and, from the shore, run other chains of equal elevation, which, branching out, join the principal chain. These hills are separated by confined and deep vallies, into which rush some rivulets or rather pretty cascades, that water every part of the island : fruit-trees of various species here promote coolness, and procure abundance for its happy inhabitants.

Captain Cook gives the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA a length, from north to south, of three leagues

leagues of seven leagues since he came to anchor and a few leagues more than they examined the coast of the island. The difference still remains in the English navigation. The English navigation fixed the position of the island. The French served more to the north. The English had an opposite view. The French GUEROA had a different view.

The following is a comparison of the English and French views of the island. The English compared, with the French, each other's views. The English than that of the French does not differ from the French out any other possibility of the island. Dros.

This bay is the western part of the western part of the island.

* *Figueras*, p. 305, was found accurate.

† The plan of the island is published in the *Annals of the Navy* (vol. 305), was found accurate.

leagues of twenty to a degree, and a circuit of seven leagues, which QUIROS had thought larger, since he carries it to nine Spanish leagues of seventeen and a half to a degree *: but, as neither of them examined more than a portion of the west coast of the island, its absolute extent and circumference still remain undetermined; and the dimensions which are assigned to it in the chart of the English navigator, can be considered only as measures fixed by approximation; but which yet deserve more confidence than those which QUIROS had an opportunity of indicating, and which FIGUEROA has handed down to us.

The following description of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS is the result of all the accounts compared, which confirm each other, or supply each other's deficiency: it is more circumstantial than that of the Spaniards; but, in the main, it does not differ from it; and theirs would, without any other directions, be sufficient to obviate the possibility of mistaking MENDANA's LA MADRE DE DIOS.

This bay †, which is situated about the middle of the west coast of the island, under the most elevated part of the land, is not more than two miles

* *Figueroa*, page 245.

† The plan taken of this bay by Captain Cook, and published in the account of his second voyage (vol. i. page 305), was found by the French navigators to be perfectly accurate.

across at its mouth by three quarters of a mile in depth. The two points which form it lie with respect to each other, in a north by east and south by west direction. The south point is terminated by a steep rock, on the summit of which rises a peak that cannot be perceived from the offing, because it is concealed by the high lands behind it. A hill whose declivity is gentle, terminates at the north point, which is formed by bold and excavated rocks, the upper part of which, borne in a projecting position, represents a sort of demi-arch: this north point, which is black and burnt, is far less elevated than that of the south cove; it is covered with *casuarinas*, those large trees whose hard and heavy wood is employed in making clubs and other weapons. The lands at the bottom of the bay present a chain of high hills slightly broken at their summits, and steep in several places. Mr. GEORGE FORSTER gives a different description of the high lands which rise at the head of the bay: he says that "the bottom of the harbour is filled up with a very high ridge, level at top, and resembling the *Table-mountain* at the Cape of GOOD HOPE *." With the exception of two small coves which, both, receive a rivulet, and where an accessible beach is to be met with, the remainder of the circumference of

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 9 and 10.

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the bay exhibits, throughout, nothing but bold rocks, close to which the lead indicates a coral bottom with a depth of water of twenty fathoms and upwards.

These two small sandy coves are separated by a little hill, which projects into the sea over a bed of steep rocks whose summit is clad with a grass, which, according to the account of Mr. GEORGE FORSTER, rises to half the height of a man. One of these coves is distinguished by the name of the NORTH COVE, the other by that of the SOUTH COVE. Two vallies, well covered with trees, terminate at the NORTH COVE, and a pretty rivulet, after having fertilized the lands, affords, at its mouth, a good watering-place for shipping*. The bay presents, throughout, at a certain

* The description which *George Forster* has given of this part of the bay (vol. ii. page 17.) requires an observation: this is what he says of it:

"A little hill, covered with long grass up to our middle, and broken into a perpendicular wall to the sea, juts forward, and divides this beach from another to the southward. On the north side of this hill, we found a fine spring of clear water, in the very place where the Spanish navigators have described it, which gushes out of the rock, and is collected in a little basin, whence it flows into the sea. A brook runs down from the higher hills close to it; another, more considerable, descends on the middle of the beach, and supplied us with water; and again another is to be met with in the northern corner."

This description of Mr. *Forster* clearly designates *four rivulets* in the north cove, reckoning for one that which the spring produces.

Captain

certain distance from the rocks, a sandy bottom excellent for holding, over a depth of water which shoals, in approaching the shore, from thirty-six to fourteen or thirteen fathoms. Fresh water is conveniently procured in the NORTH COVE, and it is of the best quality *. Wood is procured here with equal facility. Sometimes, however, the swell beats so strong on the coast, and the surf is so considerable on the beach, when the wind blows from the offing, which the SOLIDE experienced more than once during her stay, that it is no easy matter then to get the casks on board

Captain Cook's plan indicates but two in this same north cove: the first, a little to the northward of the small hill, which must be the little rivulet of the spring; and the second, which is the most considerable, and where he filled his water, nearly in the middle of the cove. His narrative says that "in each of the bays is a rivulet of excellent water [no doubt he does not reckon that of the spring]; the northern cove is the most commodious for wooding and watering. Here is the little waterfall mentioned by Quiros, Mendana's pilot; but the town, or village, is in the other cove." (See *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. pages 307 and 308.)

The plan and the narrative of Cook leave no doubt of there being only one rivulet in each cove; and this Captain Chandal confirmed to me.

I cannot conceive what can have led Mr. Forster into an error; he designates four rivulets in the north cove, reckoning for one that of the spring; and he speaks not of that in the south cove.

* Captain Cook, as has been seen, had conceived and given a different idea of it; for he says that it is "not very convenient for taking in wood and water." (See page 76.)

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again : but, in this case, and in all others, the natives are officiously eager to swim off with them ; and they execute this service with surprising dexterity. If landing on the beach appears too dangerous, a boat may go on shore on the north coast, where it is convenient to debark ; but it is afterwards not a little difficult to walk, for the space of three quarters of a mile, over rocks always covered at high water, which there deposits a slimy and slippery sediment : this sort of causeway passes under the rocks that I have before mentioned, which project above in the form of a demi-arch, and through which the rain-water filters and oozes in a tolerably large quantity. It was observed that the sea rises about four feet, and sometimes less.

The Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS lies south 15° east from the west point of LA DOMINICA : this bearing, which was well verified, furnishes an indication that must prevent all mistake, either in coming to look for it from the southward, or northward ; and the navigator need not be afraid of confounding it with other bays which present themselves more to the southward. But as the wind, turned aside by the high lands of LA DOMINICA, most frequently takes a north-east and north-north-east direction, when he has an intention of anchoring in LA MADRE DE DIOS, he ought to endeavour to get into the channel to the northward of SANTA

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CHRISTINA, which is from two to three miles wide ; and if he wishes not to run the risk of missing the anchorage, it is proper, in coming to take it, to borrow as close as possible, on the north point of the bay. He will be in a good birth, if he drops his anchor a little within the two points ; where he will have from twenty-five to twenty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand.

FIGUEROA, in his description of this bay, says that, on the north side of a projecting little hill, which separates the two coves, and at the height of seven or eight feet above the soil, is seen a spring of excellent water, the stream of which is of the *thickness of a man's wrist* * ; and Captain COOK, as well as Mr. GEORGE FORSTER, confirms the report of the Spaniards †. It must be concluded from this coincidence, that this spring is subject to great variations : for Captain CHANAL, who examined it, with the intention of verifying and confirming the account of his predecessors, affirms that, while the French staid in the bay, it was so inconsiderable, that, if the English had not particularly spoken of it, the idea of mentioning it would never have occurred to him. It has also been seen that, during the stay of the French in the bay, although it had rained almost continually, the ri-

* *Figueroa*, page 248.

† See note, page 105, of this volume.

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‡ *Ibid.*

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rivulet in the south cove was almost dry * : Mr. FORSTER makes no mention of this rivulet, and COOK says merely that its water is excellent † ; but it appears by the journal of the latter, that at the period of the voyage of the English, it was in the SOUTH cove that the town, or village, was situated ‡, and it is not presumable that the natives would, in order to assemble their habitations there, have chosen the banks or the vicinity of a rivulet which had had no water : we must therefore believe that, at this period, the south rivulet had water in abundance ; and, without pretending to assign the cause of its drying up, we may attribute to its want of water, the migration of the natives, who, at the period of the stay of the French, appeared, for a considerable time past, to have deserted the SOUTH cove, since they found there but a very small number of inhabitants, and some forsaken huts || ; while the NORTH cove which, in Captain COOK's time, was the least peopled, had since acquired a great population, no doubt, by the influx of the emigrants from the SOUTH cove. These remarks lead us to think that the springs and rivers of the island are subject to considerable increases and diminutions ; and that inundations or

* See page 69 of this volume.

† See note, page 106 *ib.*

‡ *Ibid.*

|| See page 69 *ib.*

drought determine the natives sometimes to remove their dwellings from one part of the island to another.

The voyage of the Spaniards, although performed at a much more distant period, furnishes us with another indication of these removals; and it may easily be conceived that they must neither be uncommon, nor difficult, among a people whose moveable property is not cumbersome to carry about, who travel in canoes, and to whom the spontaneous productions of nature afford, in all places, means of subsistence, and materials fit for the construction of their habitations. According to FIGUEROA *, MENDAÑA had found in the NORTH COVE, a regular hamlet or village laid out by the square, one branch of which extended from north to south, and the other, from east to west. The modern navigators, whether English or French, saw not this regular village, but only at a rather great distance from the shore, some huts scattered about in the vallies and on the sides of the hills, and intermingled with patches of wood.

The construction of these cabins or huts is very inferior to that of the houses which are met with in the SOCIETY Islands; no doubt that, being nearer to the equinoctial line, by about seven degrees, the Mendoçans enjoying a more constant

* *Figueroa*, page 245, repeated by mistake, four pages after another which bears the same numerals.

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and more regular warmth, have been occupied only in protecting themselves from the scorching rays of the sun, and the waters of the sky. It appears that the rains are abundant, and the inundations, undoubtedly, common; for every house is built on a platform of stones, raised a little above the level of the ground. The walls are formed with bamboo-canes, seven or eight feet in height, placed close together; and the roof, the middle of which rises nine or ten feet above the foundation, is formed by other bamboos laid in a parallel direction one above the other, and covered with leaves of a species of the fan-palm, according to Surgeon ROBLET; and according to Captain COOK and Mr. GEORGE FORSTER, leaves of the bread-fruit tree and *ratta* leaves. FIGUEROA says that the roofs are ridged, that is, they carry off the water by a double slope*. In one of the fronts are seen a door and a window; and all the rest is filled up. These cabins are, in general, nine or ten feet long, by five or six broad, and some are square. The floor is paved with large stones, joined together very neatly†, and covered

* Page 245.

† Thus it is that Surgeon Roblet expresses himself in the description which he has given of the habitations of the north cove; but George Forster says that the hut he visited "was placed on an elevated platform of stones, which were not smooth and even enough to form a very comfortable couch, though they were covered with mats." Vol. ii. page 21.

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with mats. On the outside of the habitations, are also perceived platforms, where the natives sit down and amuse themselves: these are paved like those of the inside of the houses, no doubt, as a protection from the humidity of the soil in the rainy season.

GEORGE FORSTER, speaking of the mountain which surrounds the bay, says that, "Along its uppermost edge we saw a row of stakes or palisades, closely connected together, like a fortification, within which, by the help of our glasses, we discovered something like huts *." COOK says also that, "they seemed to have dwellings, or strong holds, on the summits of the highest hills: these we saw only by the help of our glasses †." They are, perhaps, the intrenchments of which QUIROS and FIGUEROA make mention, and in which the natives took refuge, after the Spaniards, for a very trifling cause, and, undoubtedly, from a misconception, had exterminated a no small number of them. Mr. FORSTER compares those palisaded enclosures to the *Hippas* of NEW ZEALAND, in which the warlike inhabitants of those islands retire with their women, their children, arms, and provisions, and entrench themselves, when one nation or tribe declares war against another. Captain CHANAL in

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 10.

† *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 311.

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vain endeavoured to discern on the heights, these palisaded enclosures; he could not discover one of them: perhaps they are constructed only for certain ceremonies, and exist but accidentally. Mr. FORSTER had reason to think that these might be the burying-places of the inhabitants, because Captain Cook having been to visit the habitation of a native whom the English had killed, and finding there none of the female relations of the unfortunate islander, to whom he wished to make some presents, he inquired what was become of them, and he learnt that the women were gone to weep for the dead man on the top of the mountain*.

SANTA CHRISTINA, like all the other islands of the group of which it forms a part, is very high land; its shores present hollow rocks, the black, spongy, hard, and brittle stone of which indicates the effect and the produce of a great volcanic eruption. This account given by Captain CHANAL, is confirmed by the observations of Surgeon ROBLET: "The nature of the rock which is found in this island," the latter tells us, "is a mixture of volcanic productions, black and ferruginous, spongy, hard, brittle, red, and of the colour of rust: if we extend our view a little into the interior of the island, we perceive a ridge of mountains, which appears almost barren, and the crumbling down of which indicates ancient

* See *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 22.

"eruptions." All the districts which Messrs. FORSTER and Dr. SPARRMAN visited in their botanizing excursions they found covered with a rich mould; and, says Mr. FORSTER, "the rocks under this mould, which appeared chiefly near the banks of the rivulet, contained volcanic productions, or different kinds of lava, some of which are full of white and greenish shells*." SANTA CRISTINA, therefore, in regard to its origin, and the nature of its minerals, is similar to the higher of the SOCIETY Islands, which announce themselves to have been the seat of ancient volcanoes, and exhibit throughout traces of the great physical revolutions of which they have been the theatre. The soil of the vallies, according to Captain CHANAL, is a very strong mould, sometimes black, sometimes red, and very fit for vegetation. Surgeon ROBLET says that, although mountainous, the soil consists of a strong black earth, where grow various species of lichens, grasses, purslains, and shrubs. The thick forests which cover the vallies, the trees scattered on the hills, and the verdure which is seen to reign on the steep sides of some of them—every thing attests the fecundity of the soil. The French voyagers did not employ themselves in the search of plants, which requires, in him who wishes to devote himself to it, a preliminary study that does not enter into the plan of education

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 26.

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of a navigator ; but Messrs. FORSTER and Dr. SPARMANN, anxious to multiply our riches in botany, made several excursions into the vallies, up the mountains, and into the forests of the island : and although the shortness of their stay did not allow them time to make an abundant harvest ; although the plants of SANTA CHRISTINA, which are the same in general, according to the account of Mr. GEORGE FORSTER, as those of TAHEITEE, afforded few novelties to be placed in their herbal, they were however enabled to make known to EUROPE some species with which botanists were till then unacquainted *. I can only refer to their learned works the reader who, cultivating that interesting and useful branch of natural history, should be desirous to study the productions of this kind which may be peculiar to the climate and soil of the MENDOÇA Islands ; I shall speak only of the trees respecting which it behoves the navigator to acquire some notions that may, to express myself in his language, serve him as *land-marks*, because the greater part afford him in their abundant fruits, a valuable resource, refreshments which, after a long voyage under the torrid zone, are, to a ship's company, no less agreeable than necessary.

The vallies of SANTA CHRISTINA are, as I have already said, covered with trees, and all of a handsome growth. Surgeon ROBLET gives us

* See *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 32.

the enumeration of those which he particularly distinguished and recognized; the cocoa-palm, the bread-fruit tree*, the plantain-tree†, the casu-

* A bread-fruit tree is a field of corn to an islander of the Great Ocean; and the colonies which the Europeans have established in the West Indies, must envy the islands of the Tropics and of the Archipelago of Asia this invaluable tree. The English, who know all its value, have long been employed in enriching their islands with it; and it cannot be doubted that, with attention and perseverance, they will succeed in naturalizing it there. This speculation might, in some respect, be contrary to the mercantile interest of the mother-countries which reserve to themselves the exclusive right of feeding their colonies, in order to reserve to themselves, also exclusively, the mass of the colonial productions: but it will ever be repugnant to humanity, justice, and reason, to place the subsistence of part of our countrymen at fifteen hundred leagues from their residence.

† It is customary to reckon among trees, the plantain-tree, which is rather a large herbaceous plant than a tree; for there are no trees without wood and branches, and the plantain-tree has neither the one nor the others. But its port, and its size, represent to the view a tree rather than a plant: and the plantain-tree might be considered as a link of Nature between these two manners of growth of vegetables. (See BOMARE'S *Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle*, at the word *Bananier*.)

Sidney Parkinson, draughtsman to Mr. Banks in Cook's first voyage, says, in speaking of the plantains and bananas that were met with at Tahitee and the Society Islands, that "they reckon more than twenty sorts which differ in shape and taste; some of these are for eating raw, and others best boiled, and will serve instead of bread: they plant them," adds he, "in a rich soil, and take great pains in their cultivation." (*Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, &c.* London 1773. 4to. page 47.)

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arina *, of which the natives fabricate their weapons; a species of dwarf-fir; a tree which out-tops all the rest by its height and the extent of its branches, but the substance of which is soft, and which may be compared to the wild fig-tree of our WEST-INDIA colonies †; another, whose blossom and pod, as well as its leaves, perfectly resemble those of the tree which we call *porcher* in the EAST-INDIES, but whose trunk is not so straight; lastly, a species of walnut-tree of which particular mention will hereafter be made. To this enumeration must, doubtless, be added the paper mulberry-tree (*morus papyrifera* ‡), since the natives

* George Forster says that "the *casuarina* is the same tree as the Tahitians call *Toa*, which signifies *war*, because it furnishes the instruments of bloodshed." (*George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 18.)

The *casuarina* or *toa* is, next to the bread-fruit tree, one of the most useful and best that Nature has bestowed on the islands of the *Great Ocean*. It is very hard, very heavy, and of the colour of the mahogany-tree of West-India colonies: clubs, lances, beaters or mallets which serve for the fabrication of cloths of the bark of trees, as well as various utensils and instruments, are made of this wood which is never eaten by worms, and is, in some measure, indestructible.

† This tree might be that which the natives, according to Captain Cook, employ in the construction of their canoes, and which grows, he says, near the sea in great plenty. (*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 311.)

‡ This shrub, which probably is the same as that of which the Chinese fabricate their paper, and which is improperly called *silk-paper*, is employed in all the tropical islands in the manufacture of cloths, which may be called *paper-cloths*. This

tives employ the fibres of its bark in the fabrication of their cloths.

Neither Captain COOK nor GEORGE FORSTER have particularly spoken of the trees which grow at SANTA CHRISTINA: the former makes mention only of the plantain-tree, the bread-fruit tree, and the cocoa-palm; and the latter, in telling us that, with the exception of the *spondias* apple, the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA eat the same fruits and the same roots as those of TAHEITEE, leaves us to suppose that the same trees are to be found in the two islands *. He however indicates some which are not included in the enumeration of Surgeon ROBLET: he says that, not far from the north beach, he visited "a part that was destitute of plantations, and covered with forest-trees, some of which seemed to be very good timber †." Is this the species of tree which Surgeon ROBLET designates as out-topping all the rest, and resembling the wild fig-tree of our WEST-INDIA colonies; or that which Captain COOK has vaguely mentioned as serving for the construction

tree is planted in layers, and cultivated with the most particular attention. When it has reached nearly the height of a man, it is cut down, and stripped of its bark, which is steeped in water; and it is with this bark, thus prepared and beaten with a fluted mallet, that the islanders fabricate cloths more or less fine, according to the proceedings more or less ingenious which they employ in their fabrication.

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 27.

† *Ibid.* page 17.

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* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 27.

† *Ibid.* page 17.

of their canoes? Mr. FORSTER also says that
 “ having walked a mile and a half on the south side
 “ of the rivulet, he entered a thick wood, where
 “ he chiefly saw the ratta or TAHEITEE nut-trees
 “ (*inocarpus*) which grew to a considerable size
 “ and height, and some fine bread-fruit trees;
 “ both which are planted in the plains at TA-
 “ HEITEE, the heat being less violent there than at
 “ these islands *.” He also mentions a species of
 palm-tree, when, speaking of the umbrellas used
 by the natives, he says that “ the leaves, upon
 “ examination, were found to belong to the *corypha*
 “ *umbraculifera* †. In another place, he relates
 that having endeavoured to reach the summit of
 the lofty mountains, where were perceived those
 palisades mentioned in the accounts of the Spaniards
 (which the French were never able to discover
 notwithstanding their extreme anxiety to see
 them), that the ascent was at first not very fa-
 tiguig; “ several gentle hills formed the fore-
 “ ground, which were almost level on the summits,
 “ and contained several spacious plantations of ba-
 “ nanas, in excellent order. These spots always
 “ opened on us unexpectedly,” continues he,
 “ as the rest of our way lay through a close-tufted
 “ wood of fruit-trees, mixed with other sorts, ex-
 “ tremely pleasant to us, on account of the cooling
 “ shade. Here and there we met with a solitary

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 20.

† *Ibid.* page 23.

" *cocoa-palm*, which, far from lifting its royal head
 " with becoming pride, was out-topped and hid by
 " meaner trees. In general, these trees do not
 " thrive well upon mountains, preferring a low
 " situation; inasmuch that they abound upon the
 " coral-ledges *, where they have scarcely soil
 " sufficient to take root †."

From this observation of Mr. FORSTER, we should imagine that the *cocoa-palm* is scarce in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA; and Captain COOK's account seems to confirm it: "The trees, plants, and other productions of these " *isles*,"

* It has been observed that, in general, the *cocoa-palm* grows to a great elevation in low grounds, and never attains an equal height on the mountains; and, indeed, the finest trees of this species that are to be met with, are those which are produced on the coral-islands, where the little depth of the soil neither seems likely to afford hold to their roots, nor to furnish them with a point of support sufficiently solid to resist the efforts of the winds which agitate their summits, loaded with the weight of their fruits. We are still more astonished, when we know that the principal root of the tree penetrates very little into the ground; but it is surrounded by a very great quantity of smaller roots, interwoven one with the other, which help to strengthen the tree; and it may easily be conceived that all these little ramifications which run along on the coral ledges, find means to introduce and fasten themselves into all the interstices of the coral, and into all the numberless holes of those species of stone-sponges which enter into the formation of the low islands. The inhabitants of the countries to which Nature has granted the *cocoa-palm*, owe continual thanksgivings to her author: this tree alone satisfies all the wants of man; it affords him food, drink, furniture, cloth, and a great number of implements.

† *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 24.

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says he, "so far as we know, are nearly the same
"as at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The
"refreshments to be got are hogs, fowls, plan-
"tains, yams, and some other roots; likewise
"bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, but of these, not many*."
The French by no means experienced this scarcity
of cocoa-nuts: in truth, they saw, in the vicinity
of the NORTH cove, only a small number of
palms of the species of those which bear this
fruit; but, to judge by the quantity of nuts which
the natives hastened to bring them, and of which
it may be said that they were prodigal, there is
reason to think that the tree is very common in
the districts more remote from the sea: Captain
CHANAL even says, that, if this fruit could be
kept, it would have been easy to lay in a stock for
several days. Whence then has arisen scarcity for
the English, and abundance for the French? It
must, no doubt, be attributed only to the differ-
ence of the seasons: the former were at LA MA-

* *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 308. He has said,
however, (page 302) that the day after his arrival, August
9th, "he got by exchanges as much fruit as loaded two
"boats," and on the 10th, (page 303) "*the trade on shore*
"for fruit was as brisk as ever." On the 11th, in the after-
noon, he put to sea. The facility with which he obtained
fruits during his stay of three days seems not to announce
scarcity, nor even rarity; and yet the death of one of the na-
tives, killed by the English on their arrival, must not have in-
duced those whom fright had caused to retire into the interior
of the island, to return to the coast for the purpose of bartering
their fruits.

PRE DE DIOS about the middle of April, which is the middle of the autumn, and the latter, about the end of June, the period when the winter begins. It is well known that the cocoa-palm fructifies twice or thrice in the year; and the French may have met with a good crop.

Chance must have been equally favourable to them in regard to bread-fruit; they found it very plentiful, while, as has been seen, Captain Cook gives us to understand that it could not be procured but in small quantities. As for the quality of this fruit; Mr. FORSTER, without speaking of the abundance or the scarcity, says merely that "their bread-fruit (at SANTA CHRISTINA) is, doubtless, the largest and most delicious which he ever tasted*." Captain CHANAL says too, that these fruits, dressed and roasted by the natives, were a most agreeable food; but that those which were brought on board for sale, undoubtedly not being sufficiently ripe, the crew could not succeed in giving them a proper degree of dressing, and that they no longer found any relish in them†.

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* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 27.

† We are indebted to *Figueras*, who is himself indebted to *Quiros*, for the first description that was given of the fruit of the bread-fruit tree: it appears that it was at *Santa Christina* that the Spaniards saw and ate it for the first time. "The trees," says he, "which grew in the environs of the Bay of *La Madre de Dios*, bear a fruit that attains the bigness nearly of a child's head (and the shape too, says Captain Cook).

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The plantains are large, excellent, and common. Besides the three principal fruits which I have mentioned, the plantain, the cocoa-nut, and the bread-fruit, there is also a sort of sweet potatoe, a species of apple *, ginger, cucumbers, like those which

" Its colour is a bright green, when it is ripe, and deeper, when it is not. Its surface is reticulated, like that of a fir-apple (not much unlike a truffle, says Cook). Its shape is not exactly round; it is a little-oblong, and not so big in the lower as in the upper part. The peduncle extends into the middle of the fruit to form the core and partitions. It neither has kernel nor seeds; and, with the exception of the shell or husk, which is thin, it is all eaten; it is a paste of no great flavour when it is ripe, and which has still less when it is green. The Spaniards ate this fruit in great quantities, and dressed in every way: they thought it so delicious, that they called it *blanc manger*. It is a wholesome and very substantial food. The leaves of the tree are large, and deeply notched, like those of the papaw-tree, a tree peculiar to the West and East Indies." See *Figueras, Hechos*, &c. (page 246, which is the fourth after another bearing the same numerals.) Cook says that "its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree." (See *Cook's First Voyage, Hawkesworth's Compilation*. vol. ii. page 80.) If we consider the size of the leaf, *Figueras*, in comparing it to that of the *papaw-tree*, describes it better than if we compare it to that of the *fig-tree*. A description of the bread-fruit tree and its fruit, of the various uses in which the former is employed at *Tahitee*, and of the manner in which the latter is dressed, is to be found in *Parlison's Journal*, page 45.

* Captain *Cbanal* is the only one of the voyagers who makes mention of this species of apple; he has not given a description of it in his Journal; but from what I have learned verbally from himself, he ate of the fruit, but saw not the tree. The apple of *Santa Christina* is of the size of a medlar, and of an oblong

which grow without culture in our WEST INDIA Islands *, water-cress, and purslain, in abundance and of an excellent quality; the yam, as well as some other roots which Captain Cook contents himself with indicating, without specifying them. In FIGUEROA's narrative †, mention is also made of a calabash or pumpkin, *calabaça*, like, says he, that of CASTILE; it was found on the beach; and the Spaniards gathered, between the calabashes,

oblong shape; its flesh is aqueous, and its flavour agreeable, both of which recall to mind in some degree those of the India *mango*, if, like that Asiatic fruit, this apple were impregnated with a taste of turpentine. I do not presume that it is the *Avée* of the Island of *Tahitee*, or the *spondias* apple which Mr. Forster expressly states is not to be met with at *Santa Christina*: we might, however, perceive in it some affinity, if we compare it with the *avée* described by *Sidney Parkinson*. "This fruit," says he, "which, I believe, is peculiar to the Society Islands, is of an oval shape, yellow when ripe, and grows in bunches of three or four, and is about the size of a middling apple, with a large stringy core: it is a very wholesome and palatable fruit, improving on the taste, which is nearest that of a mango; it is strongly impregnated with turpentine, and makes excellent pies, when green." (See *Parkinson's Journal*, page 39.)

* The snake-cucumber (*Cucumis Anguria*. Linn.) differs from that of our climates: it has angular stems, five or six feet long, and rough to the touch; its leaves, like those of the coloquintida, are lacinated or palmated; the female flowers are succeeded by fruits of the size of a pullet's egg, but more elongated, whitish, and covered throughout with small hairs or prickles, which easily come off on rubbing the hand over it. This fruit is good to be eaten; it is pickled in vinegar like the girkins or small cucumbers of our gardens. (See *BOMBARD'S Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* at the word *Concombre*.)

† *Figueroa, Hechos*, &c. page 246.

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* It cannot be doubted that the *calabash* mentioned in the Spanish voyage, and which grows on the beach, is of the gourd genus, and belongs to the *cucurbitaceæ* family, which presents so many varieties. This calabash, of which no notice has been taken either by the English or the French, must not be confounded with that spoken of by Surgeon *Roblet*, and which is employed by the natives of the island, in making various household utensils, vessels fit for the conveyance of liquids, &c. (See what is said of *Utenfils*). The former is the herb or ground-calabash, the fruit of the creeping calabash; the latter is the fruit of the calabash-tree. (See the words *courge* and *calebasse* in *BOMARE's Dict. d'Hist. Nat.*) It is well known that this tree, which is of the size of our apple-tree, is very common in the West Indies; it is to be met with at the Antilles, in New Spain, in Guiana, and at St. Domingo, on the hills and in the plains: it produces fleshy fruits, with a hard rind, which, by their bigness and shape, frequently resemble our calabashes and gourds. The calabash-tree alone furnishes, by its fruit, the greater part of the small articles of household furniture of a larib or negro in the West India colonies: the French negroes give the name of *couis* to these utensils, pails, pots, bottles, plates, glasses, spoons, &c. In particular they make of it dishes, in which they contrive to heat water. The *goligo* or *coyemboue*, so useful to the negroes and savages, for putting by their food, and preserving it clean, is nothing more than a calabash emptied, with an opening to admit of introducing the hand; this opening is closely shut by means of a piece of a calabash, cut in the shape of a *calotte*. The Indians frequently ornament these utensils in different manners; some, while the fruit is still fresh, dexterously remove portions of the epidermis, and form various designs, in alto and bas relief, in the style of bowls; but I will not say that they have their beauty, although they may, very probably, have furnished the idea; others, when the fruit is taken out and dried, polish the exterior surface of the calabash, and enamel it in a pleasing manner with arnotta, indigo, and other handsome colours prepared with the gum

the island; but those who went the farthest from the shore, assert that all the trees, which they could perceive, had the appearance of fruit-trees.

Our voyagers neither perceived lemons nor oranges: it is well known that QUIROS, and more recently COOK, saw these fruits on the TIERRA AUSTRAL DEL ESPIRITU SANTO; but it is not known that any of them have been found on other islands between the tropics. The navigator who should succeed in enriching those lands with fruits so valuable in countries where the use of them would be salutary, would merit the good wishes of those whom nature has placed there.

SANTA CHRISTINA possesses the sugar-cane, of which neither the Spaniards nor the English make mention; but the inhabitants know not its value. Its sugar is tolerably sweet; it grows to the height of six or seven feet, and is upwards of an inch in diameter; it is not so yellow as that of our sugar islands; and its knots are closer: it more resembles the sugar-cane of the WINDWARD Islands

gum of the mahogany-tree; their designs in the savage style, although executed without rule or compasses, are not deficient in regularity; these works are to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. It may be presumed that the utensils for which the natives of *Santa Christina* employ the fruit of the calabash-tree, have much resemblance, as to the shapes and uses for which they are intended, to those which, in the West Indies, constitute part of the moveables of a small family: every where, they who make use of them, take a delight in ornamenting them with paintings and engravings.

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* *Figueras*, *Hecho*
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than that of *St. Domingo*. As it grows in the woods, where it receives the rays of the sun only through the thick foliage of the large trees, it may be conceived that it must be of a quality very inferior to that of the canes of our *West India* colonies; but it may be presumed that, with a better exposure, means might, without much difficulty, be found to improve its species by culture.

Among the fruits that the Island of *Santa Christina* produces, there are two of which *Mendana's* historians have given us a description*, and of which no indication is to be found in the journals of the English. The first is the chefnut, contained, like that of *Europe*, in a prickly shell; the volume of its flesh equals in bigness that of six *Castile* chefnuts, and has the taste of them: its shape is that of a heart flattened. The second is a walnut of the bigness of our common walnut, and nearly of the same flavour; the kernel is contained in a shell or ligneous husk, very hard, and of a single piece; but it is not, like those of our climates, divided into four lobes separated by a thick skin; it comes whole out of its shell, when the latter is broken. The Spaniards ate great quantities of these nuts, and even laid in a stock of them. It is said in *Figuroa*,

* *Figuroa, Hechos*, &c. page 246, the fourth after another which bears the same numerals.

EROA's narrative, that they discovered latterly that this walnut is an oily fruit (*azeytofa* *); but we do not understand what is the object of this observation; for it is quite natural that walnuts should be oily: perhaps the historian meant that these walnuts, when kept too long, acquired a rancid taste; which would likewise be very natural. Be this as it may, the French neither perceived chefnut-trees nor chefnuts; but they saw walnut-trees in great numbers, ate the fruit of them, and found it of an excellent flavour. They will not, however, advise voyagers to imitate them; for these walnuts, which are very relishing, are a pernicious fruit; they occasioned all those who had eaten of them, either violent reachings or violent colics, followed by a strong purging, accidents, which must have made them think that this fruit was of a poisonous quality; but Surgeon ROBLET, who had seen the natives of the island eat of it without being incommoded by it, judged that it had merely occasioned indigestions, which had produced different symptoms, according to the disposition or quality of the stomachs; and for removing them, he employed only warm water and tea. The Spaniards do not tell us whether they experienced any inconvenience from having eaten of it immoderately.

* *Figueroa, Hechos, &c. ibid.* He expresses himself thus: *Comieron y llevaron muchas, descubriendo al ultimo ser fruta azeytofa.*

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* See page 111
 † *Parkinson's*

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Is the walnut-tree of SANTA CHRISTINA the *Ratta* (*Inocarpus*) or TAHEITEE walnut-tree of Mr. FORSTER, which, according to him is seen in great quantities in the former of these islands *? I find an abridged description of this tree and its fruit in the journal of SIDNEY PARKINSON, draughtsman to Mr. BANKS in Captain COOK's first voyage. The walnut-tree of TAHEITEE, which PARKINSON designates by the names of *E-hee* or *E-ratta*, in the Taheitean language, and in Latin; *Aniotum fagiferum*, "is a tall and stately tree, which bears a round flat fruit, covered with a thick tough coat, and, when roasted and stripped of its rind, eats as well as a chefnut †." This description of the fruit of the *ratta* by no means resembles that which FIGUEROA and Captain CHANAL have given us of the walnuts of SANTA CHRISTINA; it rather reminds us of that of the chefnut of this same island of which the Spaniards speak, but which was neither perceived by the English nor the French. To whatever species the tree which bears this nut may belong, we must suppose that, in the season when Captain Cook touched at LA MADRE DE DIOS, it had not reached the state of maturity, and that the English, who ate none of it, could not possibly be acquainted with its hurtful quality; for we must be certain that, if they had experienced it, they would not have failed to warn

* See page 119 of this volume.

† *Parkinson's Journal*, &c. page 39.

seamen against the danger of this fruit : perhaps too, they ate of it with impunity as the natives eat it ; yet, in this case, we cannot but be astonished that neither Captain COOK nor Mr. FORSTER should have made no mention of it : a fruit which is abundant, and which offers an article of food, always attracts the attention of the navigator ; and every thing merits that of the philosopher and of the naturalist, in a newly-discovered country.

In the account given by FIGUEROA, we read that MENDANA had caused maize to be sown in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, in presence of the natives * : but, no doubt, the latter have not endeavoured to multiply this grain, with the utility of which they were unacquainted ; for it does not appear that the modern voyagers met with any trace of this culture. Besides, prodigal Nature has so liberally dispensed food to the inhabitant of the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, that, in general, he is very indifferent respecting the means of increasing it. We have seen that Captain COOK had, by dint of attention, succeeded in transporting into some of the islands situated between the tropics, cows, ewes, goats, even mares, as well as a proportionate number of males of these different species ; and we know that the voyagers who have since visited the very islands where COOK had deposited these various stocks, made vain researches,

* *Figueroa, Hechos, &c. page 247.*

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in order to discover what was become of them. It appears, either that these EUROPEAN animals could not accommodate themselves to the climate between the tropics, whether on account of the difference of the climate alone, or for want of the forage or grain that was suitable to them; or, which is more probable, the improvident natives exterminated them, perhaps, for the sake of having the skin and the bones: but, whatever may be the cause, it is certain that there was not to be found a single individual of any one of the species. I am, however, far from considering this loss as a misfortune to the natives of the islands: a fertile soil spontaneously affords them a nourishment more wholesome, more appropriate to the climate and to their mode of life, than that which is derived from the animal kingdom. I am inclined to believe that in transporting, at a great expense, living animals from one hemisphere to the other, the first object of Europeans was to ameliorate the situation of that portion of the human race which they found disseminated on small islands in the middle of the GREAT OCEAN; and this provident solicitude does honour to their philanthropy: but, without wishing to lessen the merit of their generosity, it may also be imagined that their personal interest, which ought not to have been forgotten, suggested to them, by the introduction of the animals necessary for their own subsistence, to husband for themselves, for the time to come, certain resources in

those distant countries where their ships might touch when they cross the vast sea which separates AMERICA from ASIA; and, to examine the question philosophically, it is not perhaps unfortunate for the inhabitants of the islands that Europeans are not, by procuring supplies too easily, tempted to pay them too frequent visits.

If we can be surprised that the maize of the Spaniards has left no shoot in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, we must be still more so to see neither in the hands of the inhabitants, nor in their habitations, any of the EUROPEAN commodities which Captain COOK left there, in 1774, in exchange for the provisions that he obtained: it even appeared, when a looking-glass was presented to them, that it was the first time of their seeing one: we are assured that they were absolutely ignorant of the use that can be made of a knife: and, if the French had not known of the voyages of their predecessors, they might have believed that they were the first navigators who had landed on these islands. However, the natives who inhabit the environs of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, remembered very well the visit of the English; and the name of Captain COOK had remained engraved on their memory; but this is all that remained of this second visit of the Europeans. We are not astonished that they should have lost all remembrance of that of the Spaniards; two centuries have elapsed since that period; and to the islanders of the

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GREAT OCEAN, two centuries are what is to us almost an eternity : but how happens it that, in the short space of seventeen years, the use of looking-glasses and that of knives are entirely forgotten ? How happens it that looking-glasses, knives, hatchets, nails, glass-beads, &c. are all destroyed, or have vanished ? We are at a loss what conjecture to form in regard to their having disappeared in so unaccountable a manner. The islanders are, in general, too greedy after our commodities, which they endeavour to procure even by theft, sometimes at the expense, and always at the risk of their life ; they appear to set too great a value on them, for us to be able to suppose that the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA had parted with those which they had received from the English, to the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands with whom they may have a communication : and would they have parted with the whole of them, so as not to leave a single article in their possession ? Is it merely the effect of their carelessness, of their negligence, of their thoughtlessness, which suffer all to be destroyed, and occasion them to forget every thing ? But this effect would have been very quick, and would be very general. Let us wait till other voyagers have procured us new lights that may guide us in clearing up a fact, which, till now, appears inexplicable.

It remains for me to make known the animals which are to be found at SANTA CHRISTINA.

The hog is the only quadruped: I do not speak of the rat which, to the great detriment of the inhabitants, has multiplied excessively in the island. The species of hog is small, but its flesh is delicate and very well-flavoured. To give an idea of its smallness, Captain Cook says that forty or fifty pigs were scarcely sufficient to give his crew (consisting of one hundred and ten men) a fresh meal*. It appears, however, that the size of this animal varies; for GEORGE FORSTER observes that some *large hogs* were purchased for pieces of the mulberry-bark, covered with red feathers, which had been obtained at the Island of TONGA-TABOO†: but the size is relative; and this observation could not fix our opinion, did not Captain CHANAL inform us that the weight of these animals is between eight and twelve pounds: he asserts too, that, no where, has he eaten such good sucking pigs as those of LA MADRE DE DIOS; and we should be tempted to imagine that it was with these animals, torn from the nipple, that Captain Cook fed his ship's company. Although the French could procure but a small quantity of hogs, yet the species appeared rather numerous; these animals were seen in great numbers in all the houses, but the inhabitants declined to sell them. The English, however, had obtained some with

* Cook's *Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 303.

† G. Forster's *Voyage*, vol. ii. page 23.

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no great difficulty, and in a tolerably large quantity. The repugnance which the natives shewed to part with them to the French, might induce the belief that the great number which they had granted to the English, had, for some years, made them feel a sort of scarcity; and that, instructed by experience, they had learned to be more provident: the hog is an animal that suits their negligence; it is well known that it does not need much care, and that it is necessary only to suffer it to live, in order to see it multiply, grow, and get fat.

This is not the case with poultry; these require trouble and attention: and indeed fowls are not common; it may even be said that they are scarce*; and we should imagine that the inhabitants rear them only for the sake of plucking the cocks, whose large tail-feathers, afforded for forming plumes, are employed in shading their head-dresses. Cocks and hens are the only tame animals that were seen in the habitations. It will not be matter of surprise that a careless people, whose principal food consists of fruits, to which, during a great part of the year, is added the easily-taken produce of a coast abounding with fish, cannot determine to pay particular attention to the breeding of poultry, which to them are almost useless.

* Captain *Chanal* says that the poultry are of the size of ours; and *G. Forster* that they are of the large species.

The woods are stocked with a great number of various small birds, whose plumage regales the eye, at the same time that their warbling charms the ear. By shooting them, our voyagers would have been enabled to learn to what classes they belong; but the fear of alarming the worthy inhabitants of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, by the report of fire-arms, saved the life of several of these songsters of the woods, whose concerts the peaceable proprietors of the island do not attempt to disturb. GEORGE FORSTER thinks that these birds are of the same species as those which are met with at TAHEITEE, but that they are less numerous, and the species less diversified*.

The oceanic birds, which frequent the bay, are man-of-war birds, tropic-birds, boobies, different species of terns and sea-swallows. Captain MARCHAND killed a heron of the small species, which he saw perched on the rock of the south point of the bay.

The sea furnishes excellent rock-fish; the natives supplied the SOLIDE with abundance, and of every quality; the bonito is there very common. According to Captain CHANAL's account, the bay is often frequented by porpoises and sharks: Surgeon ROULET, on the contrary, does not think that the latter fish ever makes its ap-

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 26.

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pearance there; and he founds his opinion on the idea that the natives, both men and women, who pass whole days in the water, and entirely unarmed, would be incessantly exposed to be devoured by them. But it appears that, in general, this danger does not much alarm the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN; frequently, in the bays of the SANDWICH Islands, men are seen swimming pell-mell among these voracious animals; and, indeed, such formidable neighbours cause them not the slightest uneasiness. "I have seen," says Captain PORTLOCK, "five or six large sharks swimming about the ship, when there have been, I dare say, upwards of a hundred Indians in the water, men and women; they seemed quite indifferent about them, and the sharks never offered to make an attack on any of them, and yet at the same time would seize our bait greedily; whence it is manifest, that they derive their confidence of safety, from their experience that they are able to repel the attacks of those devouring monsters*."

To this remark of PORTLOCK we may add, that the West-Indian and the negro dare contend with the shark in close conflict, and always with advantage. They know that the destructive power of this animal is limited by the position of his mouth, which being placed underneath his head,

* *Portlock's Voyage*, page 300.

at the distance of a foot from the extremity of the snout, permits him not to seize his prey but by turning on one side; and in order to render fruitless his means of attack, as soon as they discover him through the transparent waters, they dive beneath him, and, in rising, they give him in the belly some flabs with a knife, which occasion his death before he has an opportunity of putting himself in a state of defence. Thus it is that boldness and address united triumph over strength and ferocity. Had Nature placed the mouth of the shark as she has in most fishes, this monster would have depopulated the seas*.

The short stay which the French made in the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS scarcely permitted them to study the climate; but Captain CHANAL observes that the healthy and robust look of the natives leaves no doubt of its salubrity. GEORGE FORSTER, in the course of his narrative, complains repeatedly of having been much incommoded by the excessive heat that he experienced during the three days stay which the English made here in the month of April, that is, in the middle of autumn. The French captain, who staid here a week in the month of June, the period at which winter begins, tells us that he did not feel that heaviness, that oppression which is the usual effect of a great heat; yet Reaumur's thermo-

* See BOMARE's *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* at the word *Requin*.

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meter, which low 24 degrees and it is fœgical observ during his stay *Reaumur's* thermometer 85 degrees * grees and a h therefore exp and yet the the latter app must be observ the sky of G under that o perhaps, by th however, cou courage, or pre tains for the have been m more fatigued to the warm France, and en Although the by the ancient equal to that w of the modern v to report those

* See *Astronom* page 354.

meter, which never stood here, in the day, below 24 degrees, frequently rose as high as 27; and it is seen in the journal of the meteorological observations made in COOK's voyage, that during his stay at LA MADRE DE DIOS, *Fahrenheit's* thermometer rose not, at noon, higher than 85 degrees *, which answer only to about 23 degrees and a half of that of *Reaumur*: the English therefore experienced less heat than the French; and yet the former found it insupportable, and the latter appear not to complain of it: but it must be observed, that Mr. FORSTER, born under the sky of GERMANY, and DOCTOR SPARMANN under that of SCANDINAVIA, both weakened, perhaps, by the bad state of their health, which, however, could never relax their zeal or their courage, or prevent them from climbing the mountains for the purpose of enriching botany, must have been more sensible to the heat, and been more fatigued by it than our voyagers, accustomed to the warm climate of the southern coasts of France, and enjoying the most perfect health.

Although the meteorological observations made by the ancient navigators merit not a confidence equal to that which is granted to the observations of the modern voyagers, I think it incumbent on me to report those which QUIROS, a very good ob-

* See *Astronomical Observations, &c.* by William Wales, page 354.

server for his time, had made on the climate of SANTA CHRISTINA, such as FIGUEROA has transmitted them to us. I translate literally the Spanish historian *. "The constitution, the health, the strength, and the corpulence of this people announce the goodness of the climate in which they live. We bore the same dress in day as in the night, and the sun incommoded us but little. We had sometimes a shower, but there fell no heavy rains. We never perceived any dew † or vapour; and the air was very dry; so that wet clothes, which were left on the ground during the night, were found dry in the morning, without there being a necessity to spread them. But we had no op-

* *Figueroa*, page 246, the fourth after another which bears the same numerals.

† Mr. *Alexander Dalrymple*, who has compiled an account of *Mendana's* voyage, from *Quiros's* letter to *Morga*, and the Extracts of *Coréul*, *Thévenot*, and *Pingré*, says: "They never perceived lightning or dew;" and he quotes, in a note, the Spanish text thus: *Nunca se sentio raio*, the Spanish word *raio* (or rather *rayo*) in fact, signifies thunder rather than lightning; but I imagine that there is an error of the press in the original which Mr. *Dalrymple* has translated. In the edition of *Figueroa* of 1613, (*en Madrid, en la Imprenta real*) which I have before me, the text runs thus: "*Nunca se sentio rocio in sereno*;" we never perceived any dew or vapour; the error lies in the word *raio*, thunder, instead of *rocio*, dew. It seems to me that the latter version agrees better with what is said afterwards of the great dryness of the climate. See *A. Dalrymple's Historical Collections*, vol. i. page 68.

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We should not forget that the Spaniards were at SANTA CHRISTINA in the beginning of August, which is the last month of winter in the southern hemisphere; and what QUIROS says of the air and of the dryness of the country, does not contradict what the English and French, who were not there in the same season, observed of its heat and humidity: it might thence only be concluded that the temperature, from one season to the other, is subject to great variations.

I shall terminate this description of the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, with the result of the observations which were made, in 1774 by the English, and in 1791 by the French, for determining the variation of the magnetic needle in that island and its environs.

In 1774, six observations of the sun's azimuth, taken on the 9th of April, in the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, by Mr. WILLIAM WALES, Astronomer on board the RESOLUTION, gave no more than $1^{\circ} 23'$ of east variation; but, on the 6th of the same month, by six observations of the same kind, taken in the parallel of the bay, and under a meridian which differs from its own only a few minutes, it was found to be $5^{\circ} 33' 45''$; and, on the 12th of the same month, it was $4^{\circ} 22' 15''$. Mr. WALES justly concludes,

from the comparison of the results of the observations taken without the bay, with the result of those which he had taken in the bay itself, that the latter was much too little. "I can assign no reason," says he, "for the smallness of the preceding variation, if it was not occasioned by drawing the binacle a little towards the larboard side of the ship, to have the sun clear of some plantains which were hung up ast*."

The observations taken, in 1791, by Captain MARCHAND, in the bay itself, prove that Mr. WALES's doubt respecting the correctness of the result which he had obtained from his, at the same place, was well-founded: eight observations by azimuths, taken on the 18th of June, gave, by a mean, $3^{\circ} 18' 30''$ for the variation: eight others taken on the following day, give $3^{\circ} 9' 45''$; and, by a mean between the two mean results, we have $3^{\circ} 14' 8''$ for the east variation of the needle, in the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS†. Two days after, it was observed at sea, at about the distance

* See *Astronomical Observations, &c. by W. Wales*, page 376.

† It was determined also by an observation of a westerly amplitude. By this method, it was, on the 18th, found to be $4^{\circ} 15'$, and on the 19th, $2^{\circ} 49'$: the mean would be $3^{\circ} 32'$. The result of the observations of the sun's azimuth, doubtless, deserves the preference; but if it were wished to take a mean between them all, the variation would be $3^{\circ} 23'$ east.

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of thirteen leagues to the west-north-west of the bay, and it was there found to be $4^{\circ} 32'$.

It is evident that this determination, made without the bay, differs very little from the last result of Mr. WALES in the same situation; and it may thence be concluded that, in the space of seventeen years, the variation of the compass has not undergone any material change in this latitude. The last observation equally proves that the result of those which Mr. WALES had taken in the bay, was too little, as that astronomer had himself presumed.

After having considered the islands which compose the group of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, under general points of view, such as might be presented to us by voyagers who did not land; after having stopped with them at SANTA CHRISTINA, whose bay and environs I have described, together with the habitations, the quality of the soil, the productions of the earth, the animals which it feeds, and those whose existence the sea supports, it remains for me to paint the men who inhabit this island, to make them known under the particular points of view which must interest the philosopher, and which may have been distinguished and seized by rapid observation.

The inhabitants of the island of SANTA CHRISTINA appear not to have degenerated since the first visit that was paid to them by the Europeans, in

1595; QUIROS, in a Memoir which, on his return from MENDANA's expedition, he presented to the Viceroy of PERU, affirms that the islands called LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA are inhabited by men of so good a disposition, that none of the nations which had, till then, been discovered can be compared to them *. The accounts of MENDANA's voyage have entered into no particular detail respecting the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA; these mention, in general, that they appeared not so fair as those of LA MADALENA, and that, in other respects, they resemble the latter, not only in person, but also in language, weapons, canoes, &c. Captain COOK and Mr. FORSTER have represented them to us as the handsomest race of men that they had seen on all the islands of the GREAT OCEAN: Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET assert that the English navigators have not flattered them, and add that they surpass all the other nations by the beautiful proportions of their body, and the regularity of their features. If voyagers have not exaggerated the admiration with which they were struck at the sight of the Mendoçans (and the expression of it is too general and too uniform for us to refuse to believe it), we shall think with them, that sculpture might

* This Memoir of *Quiros* is to be met with in *Figuerod's* work, intitled *Hechos de D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, &c.* page 287, at the end of another voyage performed by *Mendoza*, posterior to that in which he discovered the *Marquesas*.

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They are all strong, tall, and extremely active. Their stature is seldom below five feet four inches French; and that of five feet eight inches is common. Their chest and shoulders are broad, their thighs full and muscular, their legs well-made, their feet uncompresssed by the custom of wearing shoes; and, without being too much inclined to corpulency, not a thin man is to be seen; they are noisy, and their voice is strong and sonorous. Surgeon ROBLET says that he saw but one deformed man; his legs were extremely slender, and his feet bent and turned inwards. GEORGE FORSTER says that he "never saw a single deformed, nor even ill-proportioned man among them.*"

Their colour, according to the observation of Captain CHANAL, is a bright brown, more or less deep: he remarked some whose colour approaches that of the Malabar Indians; but several scarcely differ from Europeans of the labouring class; and their skin only is a little tanned. Their hair presents the same varieties as that of our climates; some is flaxen; some auburn, black, long, or curling; some is very smooth, some very

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 25.

rough; but no red * or woolly hair is to be met with. They have regular features, fine large black eyes, and handsome teeth. The greater part have a flat nose; aquiline noses, however, are not uncommon among them: some have their lips a little prominent; their countenance is frank and open. The same observer perceived no differences sufficiently marked between any individuals, to imagine that there exist species originally different; he is inclined to think that they are all of one and the same race, whose origin seems to him likely to be the same as that of all the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN.

Surgeon ROBLET's account differs from the former in some points. "Most of them," says he, "have an aquiline nose, and some only, a flat one: some have long and smooth hair; others, short and curling; but none have thick lips. Although the food, the clothing, the occupations, and the mode of life of all appear to be the same; yet the colour of their skin exhibits several shades, the extremes of which are a coppery red or a yellowish white, and a bright black, or that tawny colour of the Moors of the coast of BARBARY †." These physical differ-

* "Their hair, like ours," says *Captain Cook*, "is of many colours, except red, of which I saw none." *Mendana* had seen natives with light hair at the Island of *La Madalena*, and in great numbers. See page 95 of this volume.

† Observations of *Roblet*.

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ences in individuals seem to him to indicate differences in the species. A second observation which might support the opinion of the diversity of races, is, that, in order to designate the same object, they have several different names which seem not to belong to the same language. When we know the mildness and hospitable disposition of the Mendoçans, we have no difficulty in persuading ourselves that, if a storm, or the chances of the sea have thrown strangers on their coast, they have received them with friendship, and incorporated them in the primitive nation, with which they are at this day confounded.

The Mendoçans are, in general, absolutely naked; for we cannot give the name of clothing to a piece of cloth made of the bark of a tree, which, after having, like a girdle, passed once round the loins, falls down before between the thighs: the climate requires no other garment; and the intention of a piece of drapery appears to them sufficient to satisfy modesty.

But if their body is not clothed, at least they neglect not to adorn it with those designs known by the name of *tattooing*. The operation of *tattooing* appears to belong to *tattooers* by profession; they perform it very dexterously, making use of a small piece of tortoise-shell, similar, in shape, to a portion of the blade of a saw, presenting five or six straight and sharp teeth, which is let into a

piece of wood seven or eight inches long *. The *tattooer*, after having done over the teeth of the instrument with a black paint, which appears to be nothing more than charcoal-dust diluted with water, holds the handle in one hand, applies the instrument to the skin and strikes it, gently, with a stick of *casuarina* or club-wood, till all the points of the teeth have penetrated to the quick: the operation occasions a slight inflammation, and a swelling by no means painful, which, however, does not cease for some days. By means of these punctures, they delineated on their face and every part of the body, indelible figures, some of which are circles perfectly traced; others, segments of circles; others, spiral lines, square or oval figures, or checker-work; others, in short, are lines inclined and variously crossed, and diversified lineaments which, on certain parts, as on the forehead, represent a species of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing. All these designs are distributed with the greatest regularity; those of a cheek, an arm, a leg, correspond exactly with those of the other: and this medley, extraordinary as it is, presents an assemblage, which is not disagreeable to the

* The tattooing instrument may be compared, in this situation, to one of those turning instruments called a screw-plate, that which serves for making the worm of a screw.

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eye, because symmetry can never fail in its effect*.

The figures traced on the face give to the skin of the men a dark, brown tint; but the complexion of the women, whose face is not *tattooed*, that of the young lads, who have only a few punctures, that of the children, who have none at all, is, by Captain CHANAL's account, as fair as that of some Europeans: and it has been seen, that, in this respect, the observation of the French voyagers differs not from that of the English navigator. Surgeon ROBLET thought he might conclude from his own particular observations, that, among the men, the quantity of *tattooing*, which differs materially between one individual and another, is in proportion to the age, the courage, the

* We should be wrong to suppose that *tattooing* is peculiar to nations half-savage; we see it practised by civilized Europeans; from time immemorial, the sailors of the Mediterranean, the Catalans, French, Italians, and Maltese, have known this custom, and the means of drawing on their skin, indelible figures of crucifixes, Madonas, &c. or of writing on it their own name and that of their mistress. But their mode of proceeding differs from that of the islanders of the *Great Ocean*. They execute the drawing by pricking the skin to the quick, with a needle, in small punctures close to each other: the part drawn upon is, immediately, covered with gunpowder, reduced to impalpable dust; to this they set fire; and the explosion, which causes both the smoke and the particles of powder to penetrate into the skin, leaves there incrustated the drawing, which shews itself under a blue colour that nothing can ever efface.

dignity, or the birth (if we may suppose that they are acquainted with distinctions of this last kind); and that, perhaps, all these considerations are united and combined, in order to determine the number of figures which are to be scattered over the different parts of the body. Captain CHANAL is of opinion that the greater or less number of marks has no relation but to age: the old men are entirely covered with them.

The latter observer considers *tattooing* as the ornament or the corrective of nakedness. "How-
"ever ridiculous," says he, "men thus bedizened
"may appear to the eyes of an European, I
"thought that these various figures imprinted on
"their skin gave them an air of warlike fierceness;
"and it seems to me that, if they did not bedi-
"zen their face in the same manner, this deco-
"ration would by no means be unbecoming to men
"who go naked."

With the exception of the face, the women are not entirely exempt from *tattooing*; but we should be tempted to believe that they make use of it only, as we have seen in France, at a time the recollection of which is not yet effaced, women the most studious to please apply on different parts of their face patches, the colour of which forming a contrast with the fairness of their complexion, must necessarily catch admiration; and the ladies wish to be admired: the Mendoça belles have no marks of *tattooing* but on the back of the hand on
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the top of the foot ; and among them, these extremities are remarkable for the delicacy and pleasing proportion of their shape. A few slight transversal lines are also traced on their lips ; and some of them have their arms spotted with little marks in the form of stars.

It has been seen that the Mendoçans wear, in general, no clothing : once only, Captain Cook had, while on shore, a visit from a chief in a habit of ceremony ; but the French had not that honour. He was muffled up in a cloak made of the bark of the paper-mulberry tree (*morus papyrifera*) ; a diadem encircled his head ; round his neck he wore a kind of ruff or necklace, made of light wood, the outer and upper side of which was covered with small red peas, fixed on with gum *.

But it does not appear that these ornaments are exclusively appropriated to the chiefs : all the natives, without distinction, adorn their head and body, according to their taste or fancy.

From what Surgeon ROBLET observed, their head-dresses and ornaments are very much varied ; but he was not able to distinguish whether these varieties have any reference to dignity or age, or serve as distinctions. Some have the top of the head shaved, others the temples only ; some wear

* Cook has given a detailed description and an engraved drawing of this dress. See his second Voyage, vol. i. page 310.

their hair smooth; others, frizled; but not one appears to have it of its natural length: the most common custom is to assemble it on the parietal bones, and to form of it two sorts of horns. Those who wear their beard at its full length, and this is the greater number, arrange it in different ways: most frequently they part it into two tufts; they shave or pluck out the portion which belongs to the chin, and suffer the rest to grow on each side: many too allow it to grow, throughout, its natural length, and part it into locks of which they form braids, or to which they fasten the teeth of fishes, sometimes the teeth of men, small pieces of bone, shells, and the beads of coloured glass that they receive from Europeans; some suffer the middle part only to grow; others, in short, eradicate the whole of it. Frequently they adorn their head with a diadem or semi-circle, surmounted with the feathers of cocks' tails or those of the tropic-bird; and these feathers, erect and waving, form a beautiful plume; at other times they wear a sort of helmet-visor, covered with white cloth, on which are traced, in black, various figures*: some wear a diadem † or braided fillet, made of cocoa-nut baf,

* Observations of Roblet.

† One of these diadems, which I have now before me, is perfectly conformable to the drawing that Captain Cook has given of it in his *second voyage*. Plate xvii. fig. 4.

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to which they fasten two or three pearl-oyster shells, of a round shape, and five or six inches in diameter: above the shell, is a round piece of tortoise-shell, four inches or four inches and a half wide; above this, a piece of mother-of-pearl of an inch and three quarters or an inch and a half; and in the middle of this last, a small piece of shell about the size of a shilling: the pieces of shell are perforated in fret-work, like the bowl of a sugar-spoon, and the designs admit of the white of the mother-of-pearl being seen underneath: all these pieces which are concentric and of unequal diameters, form together a large cockade, striped circularly, of mother-of-pearl and shell. This latter diadem, like the former, is sometimes surmounted by a plume; but it is generally worn without feathers*.

The ornaments for the neck vary according to their caprice. Some have a large gorget, composed of small pieces of a light wood, strung, and adhering one to the other by means of some species of gum or size, on which are stuck, in great numbers, small red seeds, marked with a black spot at one end†; others, a chaplet composed of red husks,

* Observations of Roblet.

† It is probable that these red seeds are the same as those called by *George Forster* *scarlet beans*; which he says are employed for the same use, and which *Captain Cook* calls *red beads*: these, according to *Mr. Forster*, are the seeds of the *abrus*



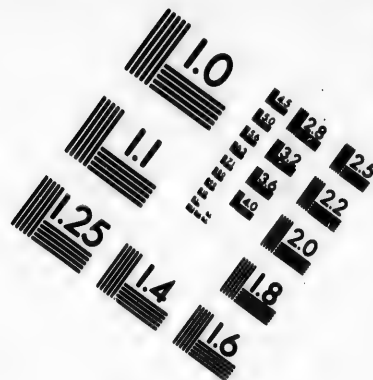
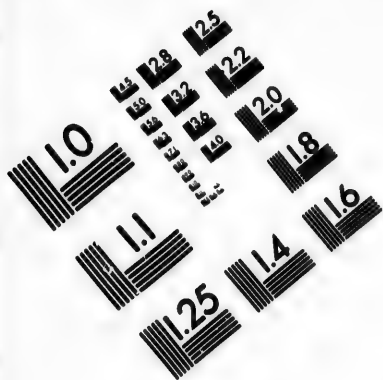
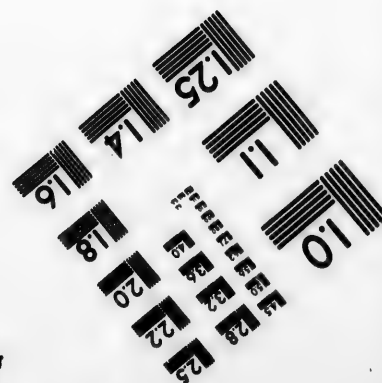
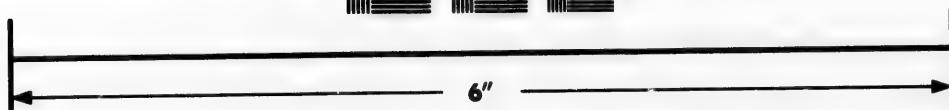
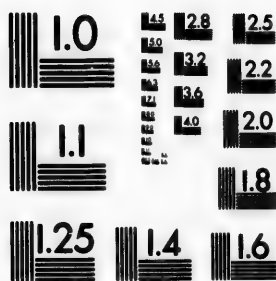


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husks, belonging to a fruit which has the form of the pine-apple, and of which Surgeon ROBLET, who mentions it, never saw them eat: some content themselves with wearing, suspended to their neck, polished pieces of bone, of shells, of white coral, or stone of various shapes, and the greater part made in imitation of a large tooth: this last ornament might be taken for a sort of amulet. Although all, in general, both men and women, have their ears pierced, none were seen to

abus precatarius of Linnaeus. See *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 16, and *Cook's second voyage*, vol. i. page 310.

By *Parkinson's* account (page 43 of his Journal), the Tahiteans call this tree, or perhaps its seed, *Berdes-berdes*, "of these they form ear-rings", says he, "and also stick them on a fillet which they wear on their head."

The *abus precatarius* is a tall tree; it is the *panacod* of *Cayenne*, where it passes for black ebony: it grows also in the West India Islands. Its blea (*alburnum*) is not less compact than the heart, or the wood properly called, of which are made pestles so hard that, it is said, they blunt iron.

Each seed of this tree is like a little pea of a beautiful red, one of the ends of which is marked with a black spot like polished ebony. Of this the negresses make different ornaments for the body, and chaplets. The Ladies of *Europe* have not disdained to employ, in their dress, this simple production of a vegetable, known in France by the name of *Graine d'Amérique*. Every day we see the modest seeds of the *panacoco*, strung together in necklaces, bracelets, or garlands, participate, with the brilliant productions of *Golconda* and *Ceylon*, to which scarcity imparts so great a value, in the advantage of adding a lustre to beauty: they are particularly in request with young women, who are not apprehensive that the contrast of this brilliant red may efface the roses of their complexion.

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wear pendants habitually: but the holes of three or four lines in diameter which they make in them, appear intended to receive accidentally the articles on which they set the greatest value. In the number of their most curious ornaments, they reckon all that they receive from strangers, and even all that they can steal from them: every thing is hung to the neck, the ears, and the waist. A young Mendoza girl was seen strutting with the rusty tin-bafon, which she had purloined from the barber of the SOLIDE, wearing it as a gorget; and a man too, impudently wearing the rammer, stolen from Captain MARCHAND'S musket, thrust through the hole in his ear, and hanging at his side. They also adorn their head, their arms, their waist, their knees, their insteps, as well as one end of their clubs and their other weapons, with tresses or locks of hair which may be that of the enemies whom they have slain in battle; but which, from the knowledge that we have of their facility in forgetting injuries, we should rather imagine must be that of their friends, or of their dead relations. However they may come by this hair, they attach so great a value to the ornaments which are composed of it, that they cannot determine to dispose of them but with the greatest repugnance, and only for the purpose of obtaining such of our European trifles as for the moment excite most warmly their curiosity and their wishes: but, as these ornaments are,

are, in general, full of vermin, strangers are seldom tempted to put their complaisance to the test, and require that, by parting with these objects of their most tender affections, they should make a sacrifice which appears to cost their sensibility so dear. They wear also, hung to their waist and on their shoulders, one, two, and sometimes three skulls : but these relics seem not to be in their eyes so valuable as the hair ; for, of their own accord, and without being asked for them, they offered them in exchange for such of our commodities as they wished to procure *.

Among their ornaments, we may likewise reckon large fans, formed of the fibres of some plaited bark or coarse grass, which they frequently whiten with lime, and which they make use of to cool themselves ; and parasols made of large palm-leaves, which they adorn with feathers of different sizes and of various colours.

The same voyagers, who have admired the beautiful proportions of the men of SANTA CRISTINA, agree equally as to the beauty of the women. No doubt, seamen, whom a long absence has separated from the fairer half of the human race, without being able to make them forget the sex, are all disposed to think super-eminely handsome the first women who present themselves to their eyes ; in them they see charms which they

* The English make no mention of these skulls.

June 1791.]

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*" Et le miracle de l'Amour *,"*

said our poet GRESSET during a convalescence; and the seaman who comes on shore, after a long voyage, is always convalescent. However, we have as a pledge of the truly-remarkable beauty of the women of the MENDOÇA Islands, an assemblage of testimonies, which cannot be attributed solely to the too favourable disposition of the observers. The Spaniards who did not land on the Island of LA MADALENA, and had no communication but with the natives in the canoes, could not be acquainted with the women of that island; but they speak with enthusiasm of those of SANTA CRISTINA. Hearken to QUIROS and FIGUEROA, whom I translate literally: "They have," say both, "the most regular features, handsome hands, pleasing shape, elegant stature; and several among them surpass in perfection the most beautiful women of the

* Which may be thus imitated:

When convalescent forth I stroll,
And chance some village-maid to see,
Delusive transports seize my soul,
And Kate is all divine to me.

Translator.

" capital

"capital of PERU*." The English had no opportunity of being acquainted with the women who inhabit the Bay itself of LA MADRE DE DIOS: we are ignorant what motive could induce the latter to withdraw from the sight of the strangers; but it will not be suspected that it was through reserve or modesty. The day after their arrival, they saw but a single one, mixed with a group of men: she appeared elderly; and GEORGE FORSTER, who examined her, asserts that she was "scarcely distinguishable from a Taheitean †;" the next day he perceived another, "a young woman," says he, "who came out of a house before us, and hastened up the hills as fast as we advanced. She was dressed in a piece of cloth, made of the mulberry-tree's bark, and reaching to the knees. Her features were like those of the TAHEITEE women, as far as we could discern at the distance of thirty yards, which she took care to preserve between herself and us, and her stature was middle-sized ‡." The French must have thought that, since the voyage of the English, the women of LA MADRE DE DIOS had grown very familiar. REINHOLD

* *Excediendo muchas in perfeccion a las mas hermosas de Lima. Figueroa, page 245.*

N. B. The numbers 245, 246, 247, 248 are repeated in the pages by mistake; it is the second 245.

† *George Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. page 20.*

‡ *Ibid. page 25.*

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June 1791.]

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FORSTER was more favoured than his son : he had an opportunity of observing a somewhat considerable number of women in a tour that he made with Captain COOK to one of those bays, situated to the southward of that of LA MADRE DE DIOS, and which Captain MARCHAND also visited. "The women," says he, "have a soft, melting outline, the finest symmetry, and the most delicate extremities. Their size runs, in general, to the middle stature of men, and few, or none, are what we could call little *." Mr. GEORGE FORSTER adds to this description, that "some, in feature, approached the pleasing contour of the Taheitean women of quality †." One of the handsomest of those who presented themselves to the English was drawn by Mr. HODGES; an engraving of her portrait, which is given as a striking likeness, is to be found in COOK's second voyage. If, in fact, this portrait be that of the handsomest of the Mendoça belles, it is allowable to doubt whether a painter would be tempted to borrow from it a single feature to add to his VENUS. A clumsy head, a square face, the forehead of which occupies half its height, bushy eye-brows, a broad flat nose, a wide mouth, and thick lips, drooping cheeks, strong and broad shoulders, and enormous breasts: such is the beauty that the English drawing offers to our admiration. The portrait

* Reinhold Forster's *Observations*, &c. page 233.

† G. Forster's *Voyage*, vol. ii. page 30.

which

which Captain CHANAL has drawn of the women of LA MADRE DE DIOS, by no means resembles this caricature; but we find in it the women seen by MENDANA and QUIROS, those whom, in spite of national pride, they are forced to place above the most beautiful of LIMA, those whose portrait the voyagers belonging to the RESOLUTION have themselves taken a pleasure in sketching to us in their narratives. Figure to yourself women as handsome and better made than the females of EUROPE; fine eyes, a look which bespeaks sweetness and invites pleasure, every feature of a perfect regularity: represent to yourself the beauty of nature, which art has not spoiled by wishing to improve it: to the charms of face, the ease of shape, the harmony of contours, the elegance of form, add a soft skin, fairer than that of our men, because being all of them intent to please, they take the greatest care to preserve it, beautiful teeth, a pretty hand, and a foot which, never having been compressed by any sort of shoe, is not deformed, and yet is not large: you will have seen the Mendoça belle of the French.

The women, although they, in appearance, wear more garments than the men, are scarcely more clothed. A piece of cloth of the bark of the paper-mulberry-tree, twisted round their loins, and intended to come down, in the form of a hoop or petticoat, below the knee, seldom reaches so far: another cloth, thrown carelessly over their shoulders,

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shoulders long enough to fall down to their heels, and designed to cover their bosom, which it seldom conceals from the view, envelops the whole body in such a manner that, according to the expression of the painters taken in a literal sense the drapery prevents not the naked parts from being seen. But these garments are of little use to them : being a species of amphibious animal, they spend a great part of the day in the water, and appear there as much at their ease as if they were reclined on a mossy carpet, or sporting on a feather-bed. Their head is not loaded with vain ornaments ; they suffer their fine hair to float at the will of the zephyrs ; only, when they are exposed to the air, a large palm-leaf supplies the place of a parasol, and protects their complexion from the too intense heat of the sun : sometimes, and especially when they come out of the water, they wrap up their head in a corner of the cloth that is supposed to cover them. On the arrival of the French, they wore necklaces composed of black seeds, intermingled with small shells ; but to these they soon substituted our glass-beads, of which they are passionately fond. Although their ears are pierced like those of the men, very few are seen with pendants ; but they suspend in them all the European trifles that are capable of being adapted to that purpose. Surgeon ROULET says that he knows not whether *depilation* be a general custom among them, and whether every part of the body

be equally subject to it ; but we are assured that, in the parts which nature has purposely veiled, they respect not her work.

If the women of this country have been favoured with beauty and graces, they have also a share of coquetry that enables them to make the most of these advantages: the smile, the play of the eyes, all that sort of little manœuvring which appears to them familiar and habitual, bespeaks discernment and acuteness. A preference flatters their vanity: a refusal excites their vexation. They, however, appear not susceptible of jealousy in regard to each other: Surgeon ROBLET says that he has seen some who, after being rejected by men, cheerfully joined and made friends with such of their female companions as had obtained a preference. We cannot discover to what other cause, than unbridled libertinism, must be attributed that disgusting facility with which they prostitute themselves to strangers whom they never saw before, whom they will never see again, and to whom all vie with each other in eagerness to make advances and incitements. We are, at first, inclined to think that interest is their motive, and that the immoderate desire of obtaining the new articles to which they attach so great a value, such as ribbands, knives, looking-glasses, and glass beads, with them prevails over bashfulness, over that interesting timidity which seems natural to their sex, and which, in our eyes, embellishes beauty:

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but we abandon this idea, when we see that frequently they give their favours, and do not sell them; sometimes even, if there has been a bargain concluded, and the consideration is refused them when they have fulfilled the conditions of it, they neither manifest chagrin nor ill-humour. We should imagine that they consider this refusal only as an omission of form, which makes no change in the main point. Amidst this licentiousness, this dissolution of morals, which devotes them to all men indiscriminately, they preserve an appearance of modesty and decency, as an involuntary homage which vice pays to virtue: when they came off to the ship, swimming, and stripped of their garments, they always wore a narrow girdle from which hung long plantain-leaves, and they appeared very studious not to suffer themselves to be seen entirely naked; but these leaves, incessantly deranged by the motions of their body, concealed no better than the hands of the *Venus pudica* what they wished to screen from the sight: and it may be supposed that it was not their intention that their efforts to veil their charms should be completely successful*.

From

* It is not possible to imagine to what a pitch dissolution of morals is carried in the Island of *Santa Christina*. My pen refuses to trace details that would be too disgusting, even through the veil in which we might endeavour to envelop them: this would, perhaps, be indicating them too plainly, were it not useful to make men sometimes blush at the turpitude

From what it has been possible to learn of the private and domestic life, and manners of the natives of the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, we should hesitate to believe that they are acquainted with conjugal union; at least it is certain that the men know no more of jealousy, than the women do of fidelity. Every woman seems to be the wife of all the men; every man, the husband of all the women; every man makes to strangers the offer of every woman, without difference or distinction, himself officiating as master of the ceremonies. MENDANA had remarked that each house or habitation was, according to FIGUEROA's expression, *una comunidad**, a community; and the Spaniards judged, from the number of mats which they saw spread on the floor, and which marked the places for sleeping, that each common house

pititude of the human species. Surgeon *Rabli* says that frequently there were presented to the French, girls who were not more than eight years old; and these were not novices! Frequently men and women were seen gratifying themselves publicly, and amid the loud plaudits of numerous spectators of both sexes, in acts which brutes alone, and among them some only, indulge without mystery. I have also been told, and I am not willing to believe it, that four old women were seen to lend their infamous assistance in holding by force, and in spite of her cries, an unfortunate victim who had scarcely attained a lustre and a half; while an unnatural man and this man, to our shame, is of the class of those whom we call *stollined*.

* *Figueras*, page 245.

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must, during the night, contain a great number of individuals, lying pell-mell : from the community of beds to the community of women, the difference in the shade is so immaterial, that it is allowable to apprehend that, in the dark, the two tints sometimes happen to be confounded *. But too frequently appearances deceive the observer who is the most on his guard against illusion and mistakes : let us, in order to pronounce on a fact so characteristic as this in the manners of a nation which we are endeavouring to divine, wait till a longer intercourse with Europeans has confirmed or dissipated our doubts. If, to the shame of human nature, new observations should ever happen to prove that the community of women, without distinction of age or relationship, is an institution consecrated among the natives of the Island of SANTA CRISTINA, we should feel an extreme concern to find ourselves obliged to debase, to the level of the brute, a people who, in other respects, have forms so human †.

As for the custom of offering their daughters, their wives perhaps, to strangers, a custom so contrary to the principles received among Europeans

* This reminds us, in spite of ourselves, of *Boccaccio's* fable of the *Berger*, put into verse by our ingenious *La Fontaine*.

† I love to make our doubts partly yield to the assurance which Surgeon *Robt* thinks he is able to give us, that the intimate union of the sexes between relations, is rigorously prohibited : but he cannot assign at what degree relationship stops.

assembled in society, if it can find no excuse, at least there are examples of it, and even among the people of antiquity whose social institutions have been the most extolled: it may be allied to prejudices, perhaps to a religious idea, to an exaggerated principle of hospitality; it might be considered as a homage, as a pledge of friendship and peace, offered to beings whose superiority every thing announces, and on whom it is wished to prevail to consider themselves as incorporated in the nation, and making part of the great family. And ought this custom, disgusting as it is, to appear to us more so than that religious law of a great people in ancient times, to which we would wish to refuse our belief, so shamefully injurious is it to one half of the human race, and which imposed on the innocent and timid virgin, before she passed into the arms of a beloved husband, the frightful obligation of yielding up the flower of her charms to the brutality of a stranger or a priest*.

The accounts given by QUIROS and FIGUEROA do not mention that the Spaniards had any connexion with the women of SANTA CHRISTINA; and it has been seen that the English, who were acquainted with some in the bays to the southward, had perceived, on the first day, in that of LA MADRE DE DIOS, only one elderly woman;

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and on the second, only one young woman who fled at their approach. The French saw several there, perhaps too many, and they did not fly, or they fled like VIRGIL'S GALATEA*. This difference in the reception which the English and French met with here, and which, no doubt, was the effect of chance and circumstances, occurred, through a similar chance, at EASTER Island, that small solitary isle, situated about the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude, seven hundred leagues from the coast of PERU; Messrs. FORSTER who make the population of this island amount, in men, to *nine hundred* individuals†, observe, as a most remarkable particularity, that the number of women which they could perceive, as well on

* "*Et fugit ad salices, sed se cupit ante videri.*"

This apposite quotation of M. FLEURIEU reminds us of a similar idea thus expressed by CORNELIUS GALLUS:

"*Frisit vultus ipsa puella meos,*

"*Et nunc subridens læcævas fugitivæ petebat.*"

"At sight of me, deep-blush'd the lovely maid,

"Then side-long laugh'd, and flying sought the shade."

DUNNAN.

But POPE's imitation of the above passage in VIRGIL being more beautiful than the version given of it, either by DRYDEN, or WARTON, may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader.

"The sprightly Sylvie trips along the green,

"She runs, but hopes she does not run unseen;

"While a kind glance at her pursuer flies,

"How much at variance are her feet and eyes!"

Translator.

† Reinhold Forster's Observations, page 235.

the shore, as in the different parts with which their botanizing excursions enabled them to be well acquainted, does not, in the whole, amount to *thirty*; they likewise add that their people, in crossing the island, almost from one end to the other, scattered themselves about in order to search it, and that it is by no means probable that if the women had concealed themselves in some retreat, this retreat could have escaped the ardent researches of sailors, who, as is well known, are excellent ferrets; and they conclude, from this apparent scarcity of women, that, in a short time, the race of men with which *EASTER* Island is peopled, must be extinct, and disappear from the face of the earth*. But, when *LA PÉROUSE*, twelve years after, touched at this very island, he found the number of women in proportion to that of the men. The females, who all have an agreeable face and shape, seemed to consider the offer of their favours as the first duty of hospitality; and it may be said that, if it were true that *EASTER* Island was threatened with depopulation, the French contributed not a little to preserve it from that calamity.

Although, in 1774, some of the *RESOLUTION*'s people had commerce with the women of one of the bays situated to the southward of that of *LA MADRE DE DIOS*, it did not appear, in 1791,

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. i. page 595.

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that they had left there any traces of their visit; Surgeon ROBLET does not say that that fatal disease, at this day spread over the whole surface of the globe, and which attacks mankind in their source, has infected the inhabitants of the two islands with whom the Europeans have had a communication: at least the symptoms do not manifest themselves in such a manner as to be recognized. Some, in truth, appeared in a few individuals belonging to the crew of the SOLIDE, after the ship had quitted the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA; but yet this would not be a proof that the island was infected; and it would not be astonishing that the excesses which these individuals may have committed, joined to the influence of the torrid zone, should have developed the germ of a disease which they might carry about them, or have given occasion to some indisposition ill-cured, to shew itself under a new form. Let us express our wishes that the voyagers who may, in the sequel, touch at these islands, may not have to reproach the French with a breach of hospitality, with which, in regard to people newly-discovered, several maritime nations, with more or less reason, have mutually upbraided each other.

Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET report as obvious and common to all the male natives of this island, a custom of which the Spanish and English voyagers make no mention, and which is well known to be in like manner practised by the tribes

tribes on the islands of NEW ZEALAND, that of making, at the extremity of a certain part of their body, a ligature which proves that they are not subject to circumcision. If their object be not to preserve, from the sting of insects, the most tender part of the animal; and, by the cover which this ligature forms over it, to secure it from all injury, we might suppose, from the knowledge which we have acquired of the excessive depravity of their morals, that this custom is among them nothing more than a refinement of voluptuousness, the only end of which is that of preserving, to the part always covered, the greatest irritability, when it ceases to be so.

Captain COOK has described to us the natives of SANTA CRISTINA as the most filthy people that he met with in the course of his long voyages. "I once saw them," says he, "make a batter of fruit and roots diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty." Indeed, he concludes this reproach by a corrective: he observes that "the actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation."

Captain CHANAL is very far from confirming the
Godkin's Second Voyage, vol. 1, page 310 and 311
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reproach applied to them, that, having for which, house assign night fall, which reign in the whole seen the inhabitants the most for selves. They may be added that both the water, they neither it. But, what ritual use of line of the marked that eases, pimples that these are the torrid zone of water, or inhabit them, of their skin, a continual and cessantly rem

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reproach of filthiness which Captain Cook has applied to these islanders; he says, on the contrary, that, having repeatedly been present at their meals, for which, men, women, and children of the same house assemble twice a day, at noon, and before night-fall, he was surpris'd at the great cleanliness which reigned there, and which is to be remarked in the whole habitation; and he adds, that he has seen the inhabitants of LA MADRE DE DIOS make the most frequent use of water for washing themselves. The observations of Surgeon ROBERT may be adduced in support of this testimony: he adds that both men and women pass whole days in the water; and he observes at the same time that they neither are fatigued nor inconvenienced by it. But what still proves that they make a habitual use of water in order to maintain the cleanliness of their body, is, that no voyager has remarked that they were subject to cutaneous diseases, pimples, ulcers, &c., and it is well known that these are common in the burning climates of the torrid zone, when either through the scarcity of water, or through indolence, the men who inhabit them, are not careful to cleanse the pores of their skin, which are imperceptibly stopped by a continual and viscous perspiration, if it be not incessantly removed by bathing and ablutions.

GEORGE FORSTER observes, in favour of the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA, that they are more cleanly than those of TAHEITEE, whose cleanliness

ness Captain COOK extols: "At the SOCIETY Islands," says he, "the wanderer's eyes and nose are offended every morning, in the midst of a path, with the natural effects of a found digestion: but the natives of the MARQUESAS are accustomed, after the manner of our cats, to bury the offensive objects in the earth *."

The natives of SANTA CHRISTINA employ jointly in their food, meat, fish, fruits, and legumes; but their diet is more vegetable than animal. They dress pork and fowls in ovens dug in the ground, and heated with stones, in the manner of all the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN †; sometimes too in wooden vessels, where the water is made to boil by means of hot stones which they throw into it repeatedly. The bread-fruit is dressed over the bare fire: they also make of it a paste which has an agreeable flavour ‡. Cocoanuts, plantains, ginger, yams, and a vegetable the taste of which approaches that of our scorzonera, and which is gathered on a parasitical plant, likewise make a part of their alimentary regimen. Not unfrequently they eat fish raw, and sometimes even pork §. This custom, at first sight, disgusts an European; but he forgets that he himself eats raw, sea-urchins, oysters, muscles, &c.: would not

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 28.

† *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 310.

‡ *Observations of Roblet*.

§ *Ibid.*

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he who has feeling some none in eating accommodated cookery.

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* The custom mon to several o Those of Guinea palm, which the of this tree,) after the dressing of food oil is brought into of palm-oil. It n had indicated to t as to those of the on the skin is use hand, have very co a great deal of tim Guinea, that unctio a species of itch, pimples, as small a negroes are very f from which an inh gested this employ a negro well rubbe quently, handsome by perspiration on black. White or to make the most Nature.

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he who had never seen any eaten, begin too by feeling some disgust? The Mendoçans experienced none in eating dishes dressed in our manner; they accommodated themselves extremely well to French cookery.

They know how to extract from the cocoa-nut an oil, which is probably employed in the seasoning of their dishes, and the principal use of which is to anoint their whole body; the women make a great consumption of it for maintaining the gloss and beauty of their hair *.

* The custom of anointing the whole body with oil is common to several of the nations which inhabit the torrid zone. Those of *Guinea* employ, for this unction, the oil of the *ouara* palm, which they draw from the *Cairo*, (the husk of the nut of this tree,) after having macerated it, and which serves for the dressing of food, for burning, and for medicinal use. This oil is brought into France (and *England* too) under the name of *palm-oil*. It might be imagined that instinct or experience had indicated to the inhabitants of the *Mendoça* Islands, as well as to those of the coast of *Africa*, that the employment of oil on the skin is useful and salutary to men, who, on the one hand, have very copious perspirations, and, on the other, pass a great deal of time in the sea-water. They are persuaded in *Guinea*, that unction is a preservative from a cutaneous disease, a species of itch, which manifests itself by white and sharp pimples, as small as the point of a needle, and to which the negroes are very subject. Perhaps too a sort of coquetry, from which an inhabitant of *Africa* is not exempt, has suggested this employment of oil on the skin; for it is certain that a negro well rubbed with oil, is of a finer black, and, consequently, handsomer in his species, than when the dust, fixed by perspiration on his epidermis, tarnishes his shining ebony black. White or black, man or woman, every one is anxious to make the most of the gifts which he has received from Nature.

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Their common drink is pure water, and, no doubt, too, cocoa-nut milk; but what will scarcely be credited, "they drink," says Surgeon ROBERT, "sea-water without repugnance, and, perhaps, without any inconvenience. Some," continues he, "endeavoured to drink French wine, and appeared not to like it; but those to whom brandy was offered, drank it with pleasure, whence it may be conjectured that they make use of some fermented liquor." GEORGE FORSTER thinks "that since they have the pepper-root, and make use of it as a sign of peace, like the other islanders, they may also prepare the same dainty beverage from it, with which the others intoxicate themselves." Captain CHANAL presumes that it is the root of ginger, rather than that of pepper, which they make use of for procuring a strong liquor; and his opinion appears well-founded: when, on board the *SOLIDE*, brandy was given to them, they applied to this liquor the name which they give to the ginger-plant. But it must be said to their honour, that, if they make use of some beverage capable of depriving them of their reason, they employ it with the greatest temperance; for there never was seen any individual who shewed the slightest appearance of intoxication. Could we say as much of any of the civilized nations who possess

George Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 28.

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vineyards; or of those who, having none, know so well how to supply their place?

The English speak not of an act of civility, practised by the inhabitants of LA MADRE DE DIOS, of which Captain CHANAL thinks it incumbent on him to make particular mention; it is that of offering to their friend the bit which they have chewed, in order that he may have no more trouble than that of swallowing it; the tender may easily conceive that, however penetrated the French might be by this distinguished mark of good-will and amity on the part of their *Tayas*, they were too discreet to abuse to such a degree their excess of complaisance.

Although the Mendoçans, in several respects, resemble the Tahaitians, although it may be supposed that their origin is common; yet the industry of the former is less advanced than that of the latter: to dispel every doubt of this, it is sufficient to recall to mind what the English and French voyagers have related to us of the useful and agreeable arts known and cultivated at TAHEITIE, and to compare it with what we have had an opportunity of knowing of those of SANTA CRISTINA.

It will be found that the naval architecture of the Mendoçans is still in its infancy, if we wish to compare their ticklish vessels to those handsome war-canoes that form the grand fleet of the Tahaitians, which might be taken for that of Greece under

under the command of AGAMEMNON, when they collect their forces in order to revenge an insult, or subject some island to the sort of supremacy which TAHEITEE seems to affect over the neighbouring archipelago. The canoes of the Mendoçans, according to the description which Surgeon ROBLLET gives of them, are composed of three pieces rather rudely wrought, badly sewed together, and leaking throughout: they are from twenty to thirty feet long, by a foot or eighteen inches broad: their stem is terminated by a projecting piece, which imitates very imperfectly the flattened head of a fish, or rather the under jaw of a pike; the stern is formed by two planks four inches in thickness, placed an-end, and rising under the figure of an S, elongated and reclined. Sometimes two of these canoes are joined together; but, most frequently, the Mendoçans content themselves with adapting to them an out-rigger, composed of two bamboos projecting laterally, and fastened at their outer extremities by a branch of a light wood, which forms the great side of the frame. These canoes carry from three to seven men, and from ten to fifteen when two are lashed together so as to make a double canoe; both are navigated by means of paddles tolerably well wrought. If a canoe oversets, an accident not uncommon, the men who are in her, jump overboard, right her, bale her out, and get into her again very quietly. The drawing of these canoes,

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canoes, such as is seen in the first volume of Cook's Second Voyage, page 307, would give a less disadvantageous idea of them than that which must remain in our mind from Surgeon ROBLET's description *. It appears that Captain CHANAL has formed a more favourable opinion of them; he says, in general, that the construction of their houses and canoes evinces no inconsiderable share of industry and patience.

Voyagers agree better as to the fabrication of their weapons, which are wrought with care and taste †. These consist of lances from nine to eleven feet long, a sort of sabre, the shape of which approaches that of the blade of an oar, pikes or javelins, and clubs, one of the extremities of which commonly consists of a large knot; and most of these weapons which are

* Captain Cook gives of them the following description. "Their canoes are made of wood, and pieces of the bark of a soft tree, which grows near the sea in great plenty, and is very tough and proper for the purpose. They are from sixteen to twenty (English) feet long, and about fifteen inches broad: the head and stern are made of two solid pieces of wood; the stern rises or curves a little, but in an irregular direction, and ends in a point; the head projects out horizontally, and is carved into some faint and very rude resemblance of a human face. They are rowed by paddles, and some have a sort of latteen sail made of matting." (*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 311.)

† Captain Cook says that "their weapons are clubs and spears resembling those of *Otaheite*, but somewhat neater." (*Ibid*)

made of *casuarina* wood, are ornamented with various carving. The Mendoçans also make use of the sling; they do not shew themselves very dexterous in hitting a mark; but they throw stones to a very great distance: this weapon would be extremely dangerous in their hands, if strength made amends for skill. Neither bow nor arrows were seen among them; nor does it appear that they are acquainted with their use.

The care that they take to build their houses on stone-platforms, which raise them to a certain elevation above the ground, has already indicated that their island must be exposed to inundations; and the use which they make of stilts, confirms this opinion. These stilts, to which the English voyagers appear not to have paid attention, are contrived in a manner which announces that the inundations are not regular, but vary in their height: and want, which is the parent of industry, has suggested to the inhabitants of SANTA CRISTINA a method as simple as it is ingenious, by which this help, that is necessary to them for keeping up a communication with each other in the rainy season, may be employed equally as well in the highest waters, as in the lowest. For this purpose, each stilt is composed of two pieces*: the

* Captain *Chantal* brought to France the piece which I have named the *step*, and from which I have made the description that is here given. The reduced figure of it may be seen in *Plate II.* It may afford an idea of the nature of their sculpture.

one, of called th more or person v eleven o half in th inches at bottom. gutter or the pole, plied again at the hei fennit or la ing passes thickness braces, wi confines it which I sho foot is to branches fro a half in thi the prow of reader please. under part c throughout mence from lower part on tinued web; receiving the

one, of hard wood and of a single piece, may be called the *step*; the other is a pole of light wood, more or less long, according to the stature of the person who is to make use of it. The step is eleven or twelve inches in length, an inch and a half in thickness; and its breadth, which is four inches at the top, is reduced to half an inch at the bottom. The hind part is hollowed out like a gutter or scupper, in order to be applied against the pole, as a check or fith is, in sea-terms, applied against a mast; and it is fastened to the pole at the height required by that of the waters, by fennit or lashings of cocoa-nut bafs: the upper lashing passes through an oblong hole, pierced in the thickness of the step; and the lower one embraces, with several turns, the thin part, and confines it against the pole. The projecting part, which I should call the *clog*, and on which the foot is to rest crosswise, bends upwards as it branches from the pole: this clog is an inch and a half in thickness; and its shape is nearly that of the prow of a ship, or of a *rostrum*, or, if the reader please, that of a truncated nautilus. The under part of this sort of shell is slightly striated throughout its whole surface, and the *striae* commence from the two sides in order to join in the lower part on the middle, and there form a continued web; its upper surface is almost flat for receiving the foot, and it is in like manner orna-

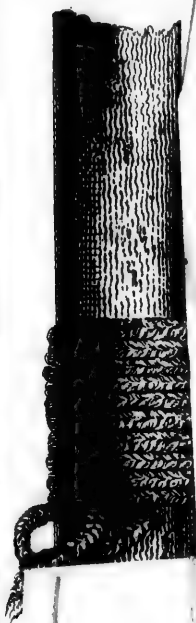
mented with striae of no great depth, which form regular series of salient angles and of re-entering angles. The clog is supported by a bust of a human figure in the attitude of a Cariatides, wrought in a grotesque manner, which greatly resembles a support of the Egyptian kind; it has below it a second figure of the same kind, but smaller, the head of which is placed below the breasts of the large one; the hands of the latter are placed flat on the stomach, and its body is terminated by a long sheath, in order to form the lower and pointed part of the step. The arms, as well as the other parts of the body of the two figures, are angularly striated, like the upper face of the clog. The natives of SANTA CHRISTINA make a very dexterous use of their stilts, and would, in a race, dispute the palm with our most experienced herdsmen in stalking with theirs over the heaths of BORDEAUX. The pains taken by the formes in ornamenting with sculpture those which they have invented, may prove that they set on them a great value; for this work, executed on a very hard wood with the sort of tools which they employ, must cost them much trouble, and require a very considerable portion of time: besides, they are seen amusing themselves in keeping up the habit of walking with stilts; this exercise enters into their games, and constitutes a part of their Gymnastics.

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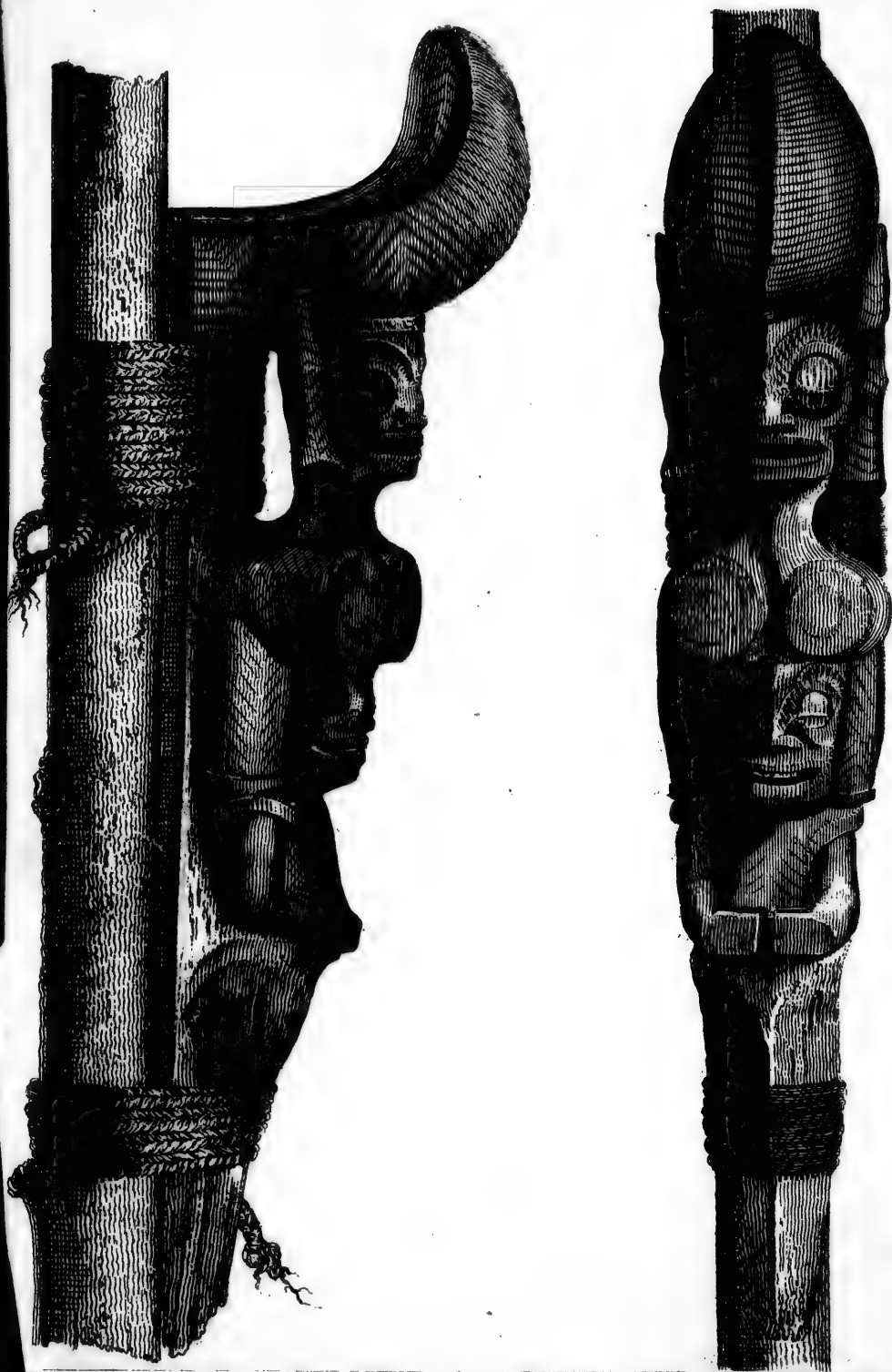
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STILTS of WAHITAHÔ or SANTA CHRISTINA,
*one of the Islands called Las Marquesas de Mendocça,
 seen in front and in profile, half the size of those used by the natives.*

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Their tools, rude as they are, inadequate as they would be in the hand of one of our workmen, their fishing implements, which differ little from ours, and the various utensils, the articles of furniture, the garments, the dresses in use among them, all announce intelligence and industry in the men by whom they were invented, and in those by whom they are fabricated.

Their hatchet is a black and hard stone, somewhat similar to that which we call *touch-stone*, of which it has the property; it is shaped like an elongated wedge, or rather like a mortise-chisel; and, by several close turns of small fennit made of cocoa-nut bask, it is strongly fastened on the extremity of one of the branches of a piece of crooked wood: its shape is that of one of our short-handled pick-axes; and some of these tools weigh as much as twenty-five pounds. They employ, besides, pieces of shell, of various shapes and sizes, sharp-edged or toothed like a saw, bones formed into points, and the rough skin of some fish, to fashion and polish their different works of carpentry or sculpture. It does not appear that they have hitherto learned to make any use of the iron tools which they may have received from Europeans.

Their fishing implements, which consist of the scoop-net and the sweep-net, are made, some with cocoa-nut bask, others with the cortical fibres of a species of nettle. The same materials are employed for making ropes, fennit, and mats. Their

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industry is not conspicuous in their fish-hooks, which are inferior to most of those belonging to the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN. Some are made of a single piece of mother-of-pearl, others of a piece of the same substance to which is adjusted a small bone, fastened to the mother-of-pearl by several turns of packthread, in order to form a smooth hook, without a barb; their fish-hooks are properly no more than tenters, and to judge from the negligence which they betray in the fabrication of this instrument, it may be presumed that they make much more use of the net than of the line. In fact, the patient and stationary employment of one who fishes with a hook and line, ill suits a people to whom restraint seems to be a punishment, and who pass their lives in exercise and motion.

Their household utensils consist of calabashes of different capacities, which they contrive to stop so hermetically, that they may be employed in the conveyance of liquids*, and of various wooden vessels which they make use of for their food, and on which they amuse themselves in carving or engraving figures of men, fishes, and birds, drawn as they usually are in the infancy of the arts, or rather when these are yet unborn.

Our voyagers had no opportunity of examining their proceedings in the fabrication of cloths; but we may judge from a fluted beater or mallet,

* Observations of Roblet.

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brought home by Captain CHANAL *, and which is well known to be the principal instrument of the cloth-manufactories in the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, that the method of the Mendoçans differs not from that of the Taheiteans, the details of which have been given to us in the narratives of COOK and other navigators. The substance of these cloths is the bark of the paper-mulberry tree: and, as well as it could be understood, some are made of the cortical fibres of the bread-fruit tree: they are inferior in point of quality and fineness to those of TAHEITEE, and are neither so varied nor so abundant. Captain CHANAL says, however, that the cloths of SANTA CHRISTINA wear tolerably well, and that he has seen some pretty fine: he adds that, sometimes, they are dyed yellow; but he is ignorant from what plant the natives extract this colour, with which some also paint their whole body. A grinding stone which Surgeon ROULET remarked among their utensils, might suggest the idea that this colour is an earth that is met with in some part of the island which the French have not

* The cloth-beater or mallet of *Santa Christina* appears to differ from that of *Tahitee* and the other *Society* Islands, only in being round, and its flutes or *striae* being equal throughout its whole circumference, whereas that of *Tahitee* is square, and its flutes are of unequal widths on the four sides. This variety in the flutes of the latter beater, seems to indicate that the manufacture of cloths is brought to greater perfection at *Tahitee* than at *Santa Christina*, and that the workmanship is there more diversified, no doubt according to the different quality of the cloths that are fabricated.

visited. Their mats are made with palm-leaves; they are woven and wrought with care and neatness.

If the Mendoçans have not cloths of a finer quality, it is not that they would not prefer them to their own, if they were acquainted with them; for GEORGE FORSTER tells us, that they purchased at any price those pieces of the mulberry-bark, covered with red feathers, which the English had brought from TONGA-TABOO, one of the FRIENDLY Islands*: but it may be supposed that it was not to clothe, but to adorn themselves, that they so ardently wished to possess those brilliant cloths; nature has dispensed with their being clothed: and, as want excites them not to labour, they prefer to a useless toil, the pleasure of doing nothing, the *far niente* prevails even over the love of luxury and the taste of dress.

Next to fishing, the accidental fabrication of their weapons, of their canoes, and of the utensils for the use of the habitation, the principal occupation of the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA is to sing, dance, and amuse themselves: the common expression of *killing time* seems to have been created in order to render obvious the nullity of the actions which divide the circle of their life. Their dancing scarcely deserves to be mentioned: according to Surgeon ROBLET, it consists merely of several people placing themselves in a circle; all the actors,

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 23.

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with the exception of the women, make a great noise, by clapping one hand on the bend of the opposite elbow, leant against the side, or by striking one hand against the other, in cadence, while a single dancer makes a few motions with the legs, by crossing them one over the other without stirring from his place. GEORGE FORSTER, however, compares the dances of the Mendoçans to those of the Taheiteans* : but, if the comparison be just, the former cannot have displayed all their talents in presence of the French ; for, most assuredly, nothing bears less resemblance to those voluptuous dances, to those animated ballets of the beautiful dancing-girls of TAHEITEE, the description and the drawings of which every one has read and seen in the accounts of Cook's voyages, than the dull and monotonous dance described by Surgeon ROBLET. Mr. FORSTER adds that the music of the two nations is nearly the same, and that they make use of the same kind of drums. The French observer does not speak of a drum ; he says that the musical instruments are a *strombus lambis*, a species of conch ; to this they adapt a calabash-tube, in which they blow, and draw from it grave sounds in no great variety : they obtain nearly the same sounds from another instrument, formed of a piece of bamboo, to which is adapted, at the acute angle, another smaller bamboo. We must,

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 29.

however,

however, grant them the drum, since Mr. FORSTER saw and, doubtless, heard it; but I am apprehensive that, even in adding it to the two wind-instruments, the orchestra would not be more improved, nor the dancing be more animated.

This exercise is not the only one that occupies their idleness: running on stilts is to them another kind of amusement; but swimming is a diversion to which they appear to devote themselves with most perseverance and most pleasure: they were seen spending whole days in the water, round the SOLIDE, resting themselves only by intervals, and taking no other nourishment than the flesh and the milk of cocoa-nuts. It is not easy to conceive how they can so long withstand such fatigue under a burning sky; and it may be said that if the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS is the bay of idleness, it is not that of laziness.

But all the activity of the Mendoçans is directed towards amusement: they fatigue themselves in doing nothing. Easy as to their means of subsistence, they receive what the earth affords them liberally, and by no means think of forcing it, by their labour, to a greater display of its riches; agriculture, the first of arts which man must have endeavoured to improve, seems not to merit their attention; there are seen only a few regular plantations of bread-fruit and plantain trees; the rest is left to the care of Nature.

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Their well-determined inclination to enjoy uninterrupted the sweets of a peaceable life, protects them not, however, from the misfortunes of being sometimes engaged in wars, either among themselves, or between one island and another. It is not possible to procure, in this respect, exact information; but the offensive and murderous weapons which I have described, and the serious wounds of which some of them bear the scars, are proofs which attest that they have not been able to escape that scourge of the human race. Surgeon ROULET is inclined to attribute to Nature, who has so many resources among a frugal people, whose humours are not heated by ardent passion, and high-seasoned dishes, rather than to art, which must there have so little means, the wonderful healing of some wounds the cure of which, would, in his opinion, do honour to our most skilful surgeons. He examined, and pointed out to several of his shipmates, an individual who had had his body transpierced by a wooden lance, which had entered below the left shoulder-blade, and had come out between the third and second of the true ribs on the right side: the warrior, who had received this wound, was not incommoded by it; only, the posterior scar was a little prominent. He examined three others who had considerable depressions, as well of the coronal bone as of the parietal bones, occasioned by stones thrown from a sling; and not one of them felt the slightest inconvenience.

venience. Nature, no doubt has had the greatest share in these cures; but it seems that something should be granted to art, which cannot be unknown to these islanders; for it will be recollected that, when Surgeon ROBLET went to dress the arm of the young man whom the French had wounded by accident, he judged, from the inspection of the ingenious dressing which the surgeons of the country had employed, that the treatment of fractures was not above their knowledge and means: and the particular attention which all the by-standers, in profound silence, so contrary to their custom, paid to the manner in which an European surgeon operated, proves the great importance that they attach to the art of dressing wounds.

A few days intercourse will, undoubtedly, not appear sufficient for obtaining a thorough knowledge of the character, the manners, the inclinations, the habits, and the customs of a people, whom the observer sees for the first time; it may, however, be said, that, with regard to tribes still half-savage, all the individuals of which live the whole day in the open air, whom curiosity attracts in great numbers round strangers, and who, not knowing how to dissemble, shew themselves such as they are, they are very soon known: a voyager is, in some measure, in habitual society with the whole nation; and every fact that furnishes a remark, leads to a result. It is then from these

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these facts that we can know and form an opinion of the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA.

Their conduct towards the French must make us consider them as the most mild, the most humane, the most peaceable, the most hospitable, and the most generous of all those who occupy the islands of the GREAT OCEAN. The movements of their soul are as rapid as lightning, and as variable as those of the weather-cock; with them there remains no durable impression of the different sentiments which they experience. They are always seen warmly moved at the smallest accident that happens to one of their own countrymen, or even to a stranger; but this painful sensation suddenly gives place to joy, if a new or extraordinary object chance to strike their senses. Such a people cannot be malicious; and all that the French saw proves that kindness is the essence of their character: but their complaisance, their affability, their readiness to oblige, they hold from Nature: and, no doubt, we may trust to these qualities with greater safety, than to the appearances of them which civilized nations find means to acquire through education, or to that politeness combined and agreed on which exhausts itself in words, and too frequently is barren in actions.

The Mendoçans are an amiable people, who are incessantly in pursuit of pleasure, and whose attention is called off and amused by every new object. They may be compared to monkies, or, to speak
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more correctly, to children who ardently wish for every thing they see, and no longer set any value on it as soon as they have enjoyed it a moment: they determine by the eye, never by reflection. Nails at first excited their wishes; they would have nothing but nails in exchange: and it was not because they were acquainted with their utility and employment, for the only use that they made of them, was to wear them as ear-pendants, or suspended, by way of ornament, to their neck or their waist: to nails succeeded looking-glasses; to these, whistles; to the last, small knives; but the reign of each of these trifles was only ephemeral; and coloured glass-beads were, in their turn, in request, and soon disdained. A ribband, a bit of red cloth, any trifle whatever, always obtained the preference over a hatchet, a saw, or some carpenter's or joiner's tool, which other nations of the GREAT OCEAN seek with so much avidity, because the advantage which these tools have over theirs, for a quick execution in labour, cannot escape reflection, and determines their choice.

The women of SANTA CHRISTINA are in their taste as fickle as the men; and inconstancy characterizes their whole conduct: they change affection as they do ear-pendants; a man is to them no more than a play-thing; and they are seen passing from the arms of a lover whom they seemed to love, into those of the first comer who has any fancy for them.

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It is perhaps to the levity and carelessness common to both sexes, that we must attribute that decided inclination which they manifest for theft, in regard to strangers, and that singular facility with which they restore, on the first demand, without suffering themselves to be entreated, and even, laughing, the article which they have purloined. It might be imagined that the stealing of these new objects which are displayed before them, and which they must consider only as agreeable but useless things, is, in their eyes, no more than a sort of play to which they attach no importance: it seemed, from seeing them present themselves before the French, decked out with their stolen articles, either that they regarded the possession of them as lawfully acquired, or that they had forgotten the action by which they had procured them. However, it cannot be doubted that they have a fixed idea of property, and that they well know that stealing is a bad action: the theft of Captain MARCHAND's musket, and the manner in which it was restored, would be sufficient to prove this. But how, in that case, reconcile the natural kindness of these islanders, their hospitable civility, their eagerness to render service, their facility in forgetting the mischief which a Frenchman had done to one of the inhabitants, an involuntary mischief, indeed, but which, in their eyes, might not appear so; how, I say, reconcile all these qualities with the concerted project of the officious

official guides of Captain MARCHAND, to draw him into a wood in order to rob him, and with the attempt to plunder his servant? Let us observe, nevertheless, that guilt does not long remain unpunished: a man whom no ornament, no mark distinguishes from others, undertakes to do justice, goes in search of the thief, and knocks in the head one of his own countrymen, for having committed a theft on a stranger: and no one takes exception at this, no one takes part against the assassin in favour of the person assassinated! Robbery is therefore not authorized, nor even tolerated at SANTA CHRISTINA. Perhaps we may be led to suppose a connivance between the thief and the person who undertakes to punish him for his theft? Perhaps the pretended punishment has not been exercised; and the clause of the treaty might be the division between them of the reward which the latter is certain to obtain? We find, indeed, in the accounts of voyagers, some instances of such an agreement, for a combined theft; but let us wait till we are better acquainted with the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA, against whom Europeans have very few reproaches to make, before we pronounce on their morality, in regard to theft, a judgment which might not be equitable. Would it be just, in fact, to judge of a whole people by the criminal conduct of a few individuals? If any one of these islanders, transported into our country, and travelling on our high roads, were assaulted and stripped

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by robbers; or if, in any of our great cities, curiosity having carried him to one of our public places, some sharpers dexterously emptied his pockets; should we think him authorized to say that the French are a nation of pickpockets and highwaymen?

The robbery committed on Captain MARCHAND is the only one that was attempted by open force: the others may be said to be, in some measure, waggish thefts; it is the child stealing a cake. But if we may, in this respect, have some reproach to make them, we cannot help admiring their sincerity in traffic: no one, after having received the value, attempted to withhold the effects which he had sold*; Surgeon ROBLET tells us even that he has often seen them add to these, or bring back articles which the purchasers had forgot to take, and which, in the bustle, the venders might have caused to disappear, without there being a possibility of the former perceiving the

* Captain Cook and George Forster complain that, during the first visits of the natives they wished to keep the commodities which were offered to them, and give nothing in exchange; Cook was obliged to order a musket to be fired over the head of an islander, who had repeatedly abused his confidence: but he adds that, in the sequel, they behaved with more honesty. (*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 299, and *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 10.) The French had the advantage of finding the inhabitants of *Santa Christina* all formed to traffic, and convinced that Europeans were not to be cheated with impunity.

mistake. Faithful among themselves, they delivered punctually the European commodities to those who had furnished the articles of exchange; they did not endeavour to purloin from each other the provisions which they brought; frequently even they mutually made one another a present of the things which they had just purchased at the price of what they had most valuable. Their fidelity among themselves was manifested even in the thefts which they committed; the article stolen in the ship passed from hand to hand, without the person who had done the deed appearing uneasy to know in whose possession the article might remain, well assured that, sooner or later, it would come back to his *. Under whatever point of view we consider

* In order to remove every suspicion of enthusiasm or partiality in favour of the *Mendoças*, I must compare with what I say here, a fact in contradiction, related by Captain *Cook*; but I must, at the same time, observe that it is the fact of an individual, a solitary fact, which proves nothing against the generality, and from which it may merely be concluded that at *Santa Christina*, as well as every where else, there are vicious men, whose particular character, at variance with the general character of the nation, leads them to actions which the whole society disavow and condemn: and in what corner of the inhabited earth do we find a society of perfect men?

Cook, speaking of the dishonesty of the natives of this place, says "a man in a canoe offered me a small pig for a six-inch spike, and another man being employed to convey it, I gave him the spike which he kept for himself, and instead of it, gave to the man who owned the pig a six-penny nail. Words of course arose, and I waited to see

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* *Ibid.* vol.

consider this nation in their intercourse with strangers, it is not possible to discover the principles of their conduct; in it are seen contradictions and inconsistencies: but how many men, how many nations are there, whom we must not fathom too deeply, if we wish to find them always consistent!

Voyagers have had few opportunities of observing the interior and domestic behaviour of the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA. Captain Cook says, that he cannot tell whether "it be the custom for men and women to have separate messes *:" it is well known, that, among the greater part of the tribes in these islands, the latter are excluded from the table of the men, and that frequently their condition is most wretched. Captain CHANAL was several times present at the meals of the inhabitants of LA MADRE DE DIOS, and he saw the men, women, and children eat in common, and feed on the same dishes. He likewise saw mothers suckle their children; and they were worthy of being so and deserved the title, from the pains and the delicate attentions which they lavished on their nurselings. Often too men pressed tenderly in their arms, children whose

"how it would end; but as the man who had possession of the spike seemed resolved to keep it, I left them before it was decided." (*Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. ii. page 303.)

* *Ibid*, vol. ii. page 311.

fathers they were proud of being ; but we know not what pledge they can have of their paternity. The French were not able to form an idea of the rank which the women have in society ; but there is reason to believe that they have no other influence than that which may arise from the momentary resignation of their persons. We are not less justified in thinking that the jealousy of the men, although transient like their enjoyments, carries them sometimes to acts of violence ; for they have been seen to treat the women with brutality, and even to employ a stick to strike them ; but, at the same time, women have been seen to beat men, because, insensible to the power of their charms and to their incitements, they had repulsed them without having in any way complied with their desires *. Thus equality, in this respect, seems, in some measure, to subsist between the two sexes ; but as nature has not established an equality of strength, it may be concluded that here, as every where else, the men frequently have recourse to the law of the strongest. However this law is not valid among them ; they are not seen fighting to obtain or preserve the conquest of a woman ; it appears that the right of the first possessor is never contested, nor that of succession disputed : every thing is settled in an amicable manner ; and if SANTA CHRISTINA have sustained

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Our voyagers had no opportunity of judging what is the degree of authority of fathers over their children, nor what is its duration; but it may be presumed that it is not exercised beyond childhood, that first period of life when weakness and ability claim the assistance and protection of one stronger than ourselves. From what we have learned of the depravity of morals at SANTA CHRISTINA, it is not an injustice, it is not perhaps even too bold an opinion, to suppose that paternity must be considered only as a sort of adoption, and that the child is obedient to those who have behaved themselves as its parents, only during the time when it stands in need of their care and support.

If it has not been possible to acquire a knowledge of the interior regulation of particular families and societies, no greater facility was found in ascertaining the form of government or the political regulation of the great society: only, it may be affirmed that it is not a species of feudal government, such as was found established in some of the islands which compose the archipelagoes of the GREAT OCEAN. Captain CHANAL doubts not, however, that this people have chiefs whom they call *Otöouh*; and his opinion is, on the one hand, founded on the natives, as has been seen, having given this title to him among them, to whom the

French, on their arrival in the island, were presented in form; and on the other, on their having, in like manner, applied the title of *Otöoub* to Captain MARCHAND, when it was known to them that he was the commander or chief of the ship. But this is not the title which they gave to the chief of LA MADRE DE DIOS when the English visited that bay: it is possible that the French, for want of thoroughly understanding the natives, may have confounded the name of a chief with his title, and that the latter may have applied to the chief of the French the name of theirs, as they give to their friends their own names. GEORGE FORSTER informs us that the chief from whom Captain COOK received a visit on the beach, and who made his appearance but once in his habit of ceremony, was presented to them as the king of the whole island; but that his subjects or vassals did not appear prodigal of their respects to his majesty. This chief acquainted the English that his name was *Hōnoo*, and that he was *He-ka-ai* which, in Mr. FORSTER's opinion, was a title corresponding to the *Aree* (or *Earee*, according to COOK) of TAHEITEE, and *Areekee* of the FRIENDLY Islands*. The same voyager relates, in another place, that Captain COOK having had occasion to strike a sailor, who had been inattentive to his duty, the natives that were present, made an obser-

* G. Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. page 19.

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vation which may give some idea of the form of their government : as soon as they saw the circumstance, they pointed it out to one another, and exclaimed : *Tape a-hai te tina !* (*He beats his brother !*) “ We were well convinced, from other “ instances,” adds Mr. FORSTER, “ that they “ knew the difference between the commander and “ his people ; but it appeared, at the same time, “ that they looked upon us all as brethren. “ The most natural inference in my mind,” continues he, “ is that they only applied to us, in this “ case, an idea, which really exists with regard to “ themselves. They probably look on themselves “ as one family, of which the eldest-born is the “ chief or king. As their community,” according to the same observer, “ is not yet arrived at that “ degree of civilization which the Taheiteans enjoy, a difference of rank does not take place “ among them, and their political constitution has “ not acquired a settled monarchical form. The “ nature of their country, which requires a greater “ labour and culture than TAHEITEE, is one “ great cause of this difference ; for since the “ means of subsistence are not so easily attained, “ the population and the general luxury, cannot “ be so considerable ; and the people remain “ upon a level. Agreeably to this observation, we “ have found that no particular honour or respect “ was paid to their king HŌNOO, who visited us “ on the second day after our arrival : all his

“ pre-eminence seemed to consist in his dress,
 “ which was more complete than that of many of
 “ his people, who, by choice, or through indolence,
 “ go naked in a happy tropical climate, where cloth-
 “ ing is not wanted *.” This last part of Mr.
 FORSTER’s opinion is confirmed by the account of
 Surgeon ROBLET, who tells us that the French
 saw not any chief who appeared to have authority;
 but neither did they perceive any thing that can
 support the supposition of a government, in some
 measure, patriarchal, of a chief of a great family.
 “ We only observed,” says Surgeon ROBLET,
 “ that those who were the most attended to in
 “ the multitude, were indebted for this advan-
 “ tage to a handsome person, to a remarkable
 “ stature, to a bodily strength more imposing, to a
 “ character more manly, to an energy more de-
 “ cided, and, perhaps, to the greater number of
 “ individuals of whom their family (or the
 “ assemblage which they call *their family*) is com-
 “ posed: but in all these suppositions, their power,
 “ by whatever title they obtain it, is still very li-
 “ mited, and it may be doubted whether it be con-
 “ tinual.” Grounding our opinion on that of
 Surgeon ROBLET, we might imagine that he of
 the natives who, by violent means, caused Captain
 MARCHAND’s musket to be restored, had no other
 authority than that of strength; for, previously to

* *George Forster’s Voyage*, vol. ii. page 31.

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that moment, he had not occasioned himself to be remarked by any act of power ; and, in the sequel, no act distinguished him as a chief : yet no one stood up against the right of doing justice which he took upon himself, and which was likely to call forth the vengeance of the relations and friends of him against whom he had exercised it *. But, where there are neither laws, nor chiefs, strength is every thing, and the weak obey the strong.

We are not better informed as to the religion than as to the government of this people. During the stay which the French made at SANTA CRISTINA, they saw nothing which could make them think that its inhabitants paid any worship to a supreme being : pleasure is the divinity of the country ; no superstition, no ceremony, no priest or juggler. We see, however, that, when in 1595, MENDANA discovered this island, there existed at LA MADRE DE DIOS a sort of temple, a place consecrated to ceremonies, either religious or funeral. Two centuries, indeed, have elapsed since the voyage of the Spaniards ; but it would be unexampled that a people, who, in ancient times, had practised some worship, should not have preserved any trace of it, or have substituted a new one ;

* This native is the same who had peaceably conducted Surgeon *Roblet* into the interior of the island, without any other safeguard for the stranger, than the respect with which the natives might be inspired by the presence of the former, without any other security than the confidence of the latter in the rights of hospitality.

we must therefore believe, either that the Spaniards were mistaken as to the destination of this enclosure respected by the natives of LA MADRE DE DIOS, which existed at the period of the discovery, or that, since that time, the inhabitants have transported the objects of their veneration into some part of the island, where neither the English nor the French have penetrated.

Most voyagers endeavour to estimate the population of the islands which they visit; but this estimation is founded on *data* so uncertain, that it may be apprehended that it is frequently very wide of the truth, and almost always exaggerated. In fact, the voyager touches at a part of the coast where the disposition of the lands affords a shelter to shipping, commonly at a part watered and fertilized by rivulets; and these advantages must have induced several of the natives to fix here their abode: on the other hand, the sight of an object so extraordinary as an European ship, to people who are acquainted only with canoes, and the curiosity to see men who make their appearance for the first time, must cause to flock to the port, which the strangers have chosen for their landing, and during the stay that they make in it, a multitude of natives eager to proceed thither from every point of the coast whence the ship can be perceived: these two causes united must occasion the appearance of a great population. But we should be almost always mistaken, if

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if we wished to deduce the general population of an island from the number of the inhabitants who present themselves at the point where the strangers have landed; and we should not attain a more exact result, were we to ground our calculation on the extent of the cultivated spots and the number of the plantations which offer themselves to the view: for, in general, the middle of each of those high islands, situated in the GREAT OCEAN between the tropics, is occupied by a chain of lofty mountains, which appear not susceptible of being cultivated, and from which sterility must drive away the inhabitants; it is near the borders of the sea only that agreeable plains; fruitful vallies, intersected by hills covered with wood, and by fertilizing rivulets, invite man to till a soil, which promises to reward him for his labour, and determines him to fix his habitation in places where his subsistence is secured; the vicinity of the sea affords him also an additional resource for increasing the means of it; coasts abounding with fish, rocks where shell-fish of different kinds multiply and are incessantly renewed, furnish him, all the year, a variety of aliments, and a useful supplement in the season when the earth in a state of rest ceases to lavish on him its bounties.

In applying these observations to the MARQUE-
SAS DE MENDOÇA, one single island of which,
and one single point of that island only, have been
visited by Europeans, it will be conceived how in-
correct

correct must be the estimate of their population, established on the number of inhabitants whom voyagers may have seen assembled at this single point. GEORGE FORSTER has, however, attempted the calculation : and this is the manner in which he presents it. Speaking of the population of the group of the MENDOÇA Islands, he says : " The number of these good people cannot " be very considerable, on account of the small " size of the islands which they inhabit. WAIH- " TAHOO, or SANTA CHRISTINA, is about eight " leagues in circuit ; (seven only, according to " COOK ;) Ô-HEEVA-ROA, or LA DOMINICA, fif- " teen leagues ; O-NATEYO, or SAN PEDRO, three " leagues : (Hood's Island, which was seen only " at a distance, as many *) and LA MADALENA, " five leagues, according to the Spanish account " (six, according to COOK's chart and according " to QUIROS). The Island of DOMINICA, the " largest of the MARQUESAS, is so excessively " steep and craggy in many parts, that its inha- " bitants cannot be so numerous as those of " SANTA CHRISTINA in proportion to its size. " Such spots as are fit for culture are very po- " pulous in these islands ; but as they are all very " mountainous, and have many inaccessible and

* We know not whether these two last-mentioned islands be inhabited ; they have so little extent that it is scarcely probable that they are ; only, if their coasts be full of fish, they might be occupied occasionally by the natives of the other islands.

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"barren rocks, it is to be doubted whether the whole population of this group amounts to *fifty thousand* persons *."

Whatever confidence we ought justly to grant to Mr. FORSTER's profound knowledge and manner of seeing, I own that this result seems not to me to be the consequence of the *data* which have led to it; it appears to me inadmissible; and the reasons on which I ground my opinion for rejecting it, seem to me to be of a weight that must prevail even over that of an authority which we never resist but with regret and repugnance. Although, in the number of the canoes which surrounded the ship, several came from LA DOMINICA; although the natives of that island were confounded on shore with those of SANTA CHRISTINA; although the inhabitants of the bays to the southward repaired, for the most part, to that of LA MADRE DE DIOS, when the French landed there, it appears from the journals of Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET, who perfectly agree on this point, that all this concourse of inhabitants of the west coast of SANTA CHRISTINA and of the natives of LA DOMINICA, mixed together, produced, at no time, an assemblage in which could be reckoned more than five or six hundred individuals of both sexes and of all ages: and it must be observed that the west coast of SANTA CHRISTINA being situated to *leeward* of the island,

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. pages 33 and 34.

it ought to be more peopled than the coast *to windward*; for it is well known that, in all the islands situated between the tropics, in the region of the trade-winds, the *windward* coast, being incessantly beaten by the winds and the sea, invites not men, part of whose subsistence is furnished by fishing, to settle there, and who all devote themselves more or less to navigation. It appears then that it would be granting much to the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, to give it a thousand inhabitants for every league of coast; and in all, five thousand; to suppose six thousand in LA DOMINICA, which Mr. FORSTER, on account of the sterility of the greater part of its soil, rightly presumes not likely to present a population so numerous as that of SANTA CHRISTINA; and to admit six thousand for LA MADALENA, whose circuit is six leagues; the total number of the inhabitants of the three large islands might then amount to nineteen thousand individuals, which we might carry to *twenty thousand*, if we are willing to grant a few inhabitants to the small islands, SAN PEDRO and HOOD's Island. This result is very wide of that of *fifty thousand* individuals, which Mr. FORSTER's calculation attributes to them; and I would not warrant that, if ever it be possible to procure data more correct, might not we discover that the result which I hazard is still much exaggerated.

Captain CHANAL compiled a vocabulary of SANTA CHRISTINA, which comprehends a few words

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words of the language of the natives of that island *; he has inserted in it those only the real signification of which he had an opportunity of ascertaining; and he has written them as a Frenchman understands and pronounces them. I cannot, on this occasion, refrain from expressing a wish that must, long since, have been formed by our navigators; this is, that some man of learning, possessing the English and Dutch languages, would collect in the same volume, the vocabularies which are found scattered in the accounts of the voyages performed by the navigators of those two nations, and that he would reduce to the French orthography and pronunciation, the sounds and articulations which each nation has represented in its way, and for its own pronunciation. Most of the vocabularies of the tribes which occupy the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, have been published by the English; and their manner of describing sounds differs so much from ours, that a French navigator who wishes to pronounce in his way the words which have been represented for the purpose of being pronounced by an Englishman, emits sounds that by no means cause to be recognized the word of the language in which he wishes to express himself. The same thing must happen to an Englishman, if he wish to pronounce, in his

* This vocabulary is to be found at the end of the narrative, vol. ii.

manner,

manner, words which have been written to be pronounced by a Frenchman : in order that they both might make themselves understood by the natives of a country, it is therefore necessary that the language written, that is to say, the words which they have before them in the vocabulary of which they wish to make use, should be represented by characters, by signs, so combined, as to oblige them to pronounce emphatically the real sounds of the language spoken.

Surgeon ROBLET, on his part, has likewise compiled a vocabulary of the Mendoçan words that he was able to collect ; most of them are the same as those which compose the vocabulary of Captain CHANAL ; but, as these two observers do not always write them the same, because, no doubt, they heard them differently, I have thought that it might be useful to report the two manners in two different columns. To these I have added a third column, in which will be found a few words of the same language, corresponding to the same words in the vocabularies of the French, and such as Captain COOK has given them to be pronounced by an Englishman: they are taken from his *Table of specimens of different languages spoken in the SOUTH SEA (or GREAT OCEAN), from EASTER ISLAND, westward to NEW CALEDONIA* *.

* *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. ii. page 366.

The language of the inhabitants of SANTA CHRISTINA has the greatest affinity to that of the SOCIETY Islands, or rather is the same tongue : which proves that, although the two archipelagoes are separated by a space of sea of two hundred and sixty leagues, and although it is presumable that their canoes do not maintain between them an habitual communication, the people who inhabit them must have had a common origin : a native of the SOCIETY Islands, who was embarked in the RESOLUTION, conversed fluently with the natives of LA MADRE DE DIOS; but Captain COOK says that the English, who must, in their visits to TAHEITEE, have acquired a knowledge of most of the words spoken there, could never succeed in making themselves understood at SANTA CHRISTINA *.

On examining the ninety-five words of the language of this island which Captain CHANAL has collected, it is seen that, like ours, it employs five vowels, *A, E, I, O, and U* pronounced as the *ou* diphthong is in French; but the consonants, which are only eight in number, perform the office of twelve of ours : *B* or *P*, which are only the same articulation more or less hard, and are confounded to the ear :—*D* :—*C* hard, *G* hard, *K* and *Q*, the four articulations of which are not to be distinguished, and which are all represented by a *K*, which, in order to be articulated in the Mendoçan manner, requires a sort of aspira-

* *Cook's Second Voyage*, vol. i. page 308.

tion that gives it a guttural sound:—*F—M—N—T—V*; these last five having each their proper and distinct articulation, as in the languages of EUROPE. Could a lettered Chinese ever be persuaded that with thirteen very simple signs, a man may express all his thoughts?

The natives of SANTA CHRISTINA, like several of the tribes of the GREAT OCEAN, cannot articulate our *r*, they make up for this by a sort of aspiration: so, instead of o-HIVA-RÖA, they pronounce o-HIVA-HÖA: is it through affectation, as the favourite of OCTAVIUS pronounced *Melcule* instead of *Me Hercule*? It is more probable that it is the effect of the imperfection of the organ. Our consonants *z*, *s*, *x*, make no part of the articulations of the language of this island, which, as our readers may have seen, admits of none that is difficult. Frequently a word is preceded by the vowels *A*, *o*, or *E*; and although, from the manner in which the word is pronounced, they seem to be an integral part of it, they are, however, no more than the article; as *E*, *o*, or *TE*, are articles in the language of TAHEITEE.

Captain CHANAL observes that, although the language of the Mendoçans is full of aspirations, and that, in general, they speak with vehemence, yet their pronunciation has a degree of softness. In order to catch it better, he chiefly consulted the women, the sound of whose voice, being clearer than that of the men, more easily allows of distinguishing

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tinguishing the shades of articulation: these were the best teachers of language; and the French admired no less their sagacity in comprehending questions, than their correctness in answering them.

The details into which I have entered respecting what we have been able to divine of the character, the manners, and the customs of the inhabitants of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, have shewn that the natives of these islands have several traits of resemblance to those of TAHEITEE and the other SOCIETY ISLES; and the identity of language would, no doubt, be sufficient to prove the identity of origin. It may be imagined that the dissimilarities which, in other respects, exist between the people of these two archipelagoes, depend, both on the climate which must differ in proportion to the difference of latitudes, and perhaps still more on the nature of the soil which, in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, the only one with which we are acquainted, leaves little space for culture, and precludes its inhabitants from the advantage of being able to form those extensive plantations of mulberry-trees, on which every where, at TAHEITEE, the eye reposes with pleasure. The fertile plains which skirt the coast of the latter island, procure it a local advantage that nothing can balance in the MENDOÇA Islands; and that sort of coral-dike, those reefs which encircle it on all sides, by furnishing shelter and food

food to a multitude of shell-fish, add a perpetual supplement to the productions of the earth, for the subsistence of its inhabitants. On making a general comparison between the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA and that of TAHEITEE, it is seen, at first sight, that there exist not in the former, the opulence, the luxury, the profusion of food, the studied variety and vast quantity of cloth which are remarked in the principal island of the GREAT EQUINOCTIAL OCEAN. The Taheiteans have many superfluities; they have made great strides towards civilization, great progress not only in the useful, but even in the agreeable arts. The Mendoçans have a respectable competence, a desirable degree of comfort in every way; and their disposition inclines them not to wish for more than they enjoy: without any other wants than those which Nature supplies with prodigality, contented with the present day and not anxious about the morrow, divided between pleasure and idleness, they appear sheltered from those political storms which must frequently disturb the government, partly monarchical, partly feudal, which is established among the Taheiteans. The latter have lost in liberty what they have acquired in civilization; one part lives by the labours of the other, and this is the natural and ordinary routine of great societies; they lead a sensual life; and hereditary diseases already begin to punish them for their excesses. The Mendoçans have preserved their primitive liberty
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MARCHAND'S VOYAGE:

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in its full perfection; and every one lives through himself and for himself: the robust health that they enjoy is, no doubt, far preferable to that voluptuousness to which they are yet strangers, and with which we must wish them never to be acquainted. I conceive that an European would for himself prefer TAHEITEE to WAHIATÔ; but a Mendocan would be much to blame if he envied the lot of a Taheitean: by deviating more from Nature, he would have little to gain, and, perhaps, much to lose.

CHAPTER III.

From the anchorage in the Bay of La Madre de Dios is perceived, to the west north-west and north-west by west, a land which is not laid down on the hydrographical chart.—Captain Marchand steers for this land; he discovers a new group of islands which forms but one archipelago with the Marquesas de Mendoza.—Description of this group.—Particular description of the principal island and its inhabitants.—Conjecture respecting other islands which must be situated to the westward of this group.—The inhabitants of the Society Islands, before the modern navigators had penetrated into the Great Ocean, had a knowledge of the group of the Marquesas de Mendoza, and of the islands which Captain Marchand discovered.—Opinion concerning the existence of another land to leeward of these islands.—Run from the newly-discovered islands to the North-west coast of America.

BEFORE I resume the continuation of Captain MARCHAND'S voyage, I must mention a remark which was made very soon after he put into the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, and which led him to the discovery of a group of islands of which
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the ancient navigators, and even Captain Cook himself, had no knowledge.

At sun-set, on the 14th of June, the day when the *SOLIDE* anchored in the bay, in the clearest weather, there was perceived on the horizon a fixed spot, which presented the appearance of the summit of a lofty peak, and, allowing for the variation, bore, with respect to the bay, west-north-west and north-west by west. The next day, at the same hour, the horizon being in like manner free from vapours, and the air perfectly transparent, the same spot was observed in the same direction as on the preceding day. It could not be doubted that this spot was land: and as no chart indicates any in this quarter, as no voyager makes mention of any, it could be only an unknown land; and therefore Captain MARCHAND determined to reconnoitre it.

Thus it was that, in 1436, the Portuguese, under the direction of GONZALES ZARCO, beginning to form an establishment in the Island of PORTO SANTO, the discovery of which they had made in the preceding year, observed, for several days successively, a spot resembling a small cloud, which appeared fixed in the horizon. They steered for this point, and discovered the large island, then uninhabited and covered with wood, at this day known by the name of MADEIRA, or *Woody Island*. I shall observe, by the way, that the English pretend that the first discovery of this island

was made in 1344, that is, nearly a century before that of the Portuguese, by a navigator of their nation named MACHAM: let us leave this fable, laid on the shelf, with a few others in the *Collection of Voyages* by RICHARD HAKLUYT *, where it gratifies the vanity of the English, who do not require people to believe it, nor do they believe it themselves. But if they did not make the discovery of this island to which the excellence of its wines has given some importance, it is certain at least that it is to them a sort of property, since they carry on the trade of it almost exclusively: and this advantage, more real, may indeed indemnify the English for the loss of the sterile honour of the discovery.

We might be surprised that neither MENDANA nor Cook, who put into the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, made the same observation as Captain MARCHAND, if we did not know, that, in the seas situated between the tropics, where the heat is constant, it is not usual to have a horizon sufficiently free from vapours, to afford a possibility of distinguishing a small land from a small cloud, or even to perceive it. Besides, the courses which these two navigators steered, on quitting the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, MENDANA west by south,

* *The principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, &c. By Richard Hakluyt. London 1598. 1600. Folio. vol. ii. part 2. page 1.*

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and COOK south-west, did not put them in a track that could lead them to the discovery of a land, the bearing of which, in regard to the port whence they took their departure, is west-north-west and north-west by west.

The sight of this new land recalls to mind a fact mentioned by QUIROS in his letter to Governor MORGÁ : he says that the inhabitants of LA MADRE DE DIOS having perceived, in the admiral's ship, a negro whom they distinguished among the Spaniards, gave them to understand, that, to the southward of the MENDOÇA Islands, there were countries inhabited by men of that species; that these negroes were their enemies; that, in battle, they made use of the bow and arrow; and that the large canoes which were seen in the harbour of LA MADRE DE DIOS were intended for invading that nation. QUIROS adds that this account of the inhabitants of SANTA CRISTINA appeared to him to merit no belief; and the vessels, which they call their large canoes, seemed to him little calculated for keeping the sea, and still less for being employed in long voyages and warlike expeditions. The difficulty of reciprocally understanding each other did not permit QUIROS to procure more ample information; but the reasons which determined him to reject as fabulous the account of the natives of SANTA CRISTINA cannot appear

* *Sucesos de las islas Philipinas*. Chap. VI.

to us decisive, at this day when we are certain that the natives of the SOCIETY Isles communicate in their canoes with islands which are two or three hundred leagues distant from their archipelago. It is not, however, that, to the southward of the MENDOÇA Islands, I think we should admit the existence of some lands inhabited by negroes; for, as yet there has not been found in the islands situated under the meridians in the vicinity of that of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, any individual belonging to that race of men; but I observe that, between the track of COOK, who, in coming from the eastward, followed parallels which differ little from that of the MARQUESAS, and Commodore BYRON's track, in 1765, which passes about a hundred leagues to the southward of those islands, there remains a space which is not crossed by the track of any known navigator; and it may probably happen that, in this extent of sea, there may exist some islands which have not yet been discovered; but, admitting the possibility of their existence, I would not also admit that they are inhabited by negroes; it might happen merely that their inhabitants were much blacker than those of the MENDOÇA Islands, called *white men* by our voyagers, and that the Mendoças may have been struck with this difference of colour compared to theirs, as they must have been with that of the Europeans, even with that of the Spaniards of PERU, who, although less white, in general,

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Chanal, Plate i

general, than most Europeans, must be called *white men* by the whites themselves, of the species of those who inhabit the islands of the GREAT OCEAN.

On the 20th of June at midnight, Captain MARCHAND set sail from the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, and steered according to the bearing which he had taken, and which indicated to him the position of a land at no great distance from the group of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA.

The next morning, at break of day, he had the satisfaction of discovering to the north-west 7° west, a high land, towards which he crowded sail, in order to reconnoitre it: and, at half past ten o'clock in the forenoon, he was no more than four miles from the most southern point*. At the same moment, some hillocks which shewed themselves like islets, bore north 4 or 5° east; but it was presumed that these were connected to each other and to the body of the island, by low lands which the distance did not allow of discovering: and, from these different remarks, our voyagers thought themselves justified in the opinion that the low lands which they supposed to exist, and the hillocks which they saw, formed together the north-east part of the great land. The officers of the SOLIDE, by acclamation, gave to the discovered island the name of ILE MARCHAND

* See the chart of these islands, constructed by Captain Chanal, Plate iii. No. 1.

(MARCHAND's Island). To the southward of the supposed low lands, appeared a large bight, which terminated at a high and projecting point of the east coast of the great land : at a little distance, to the eastward of this point, was an islet in the form of a sugar-loaf ; and, to the south-south-west of the latter, a smaller island, which seemed to be only a rock : the former was named the PEAK. An island of middling height, level, and clothed with verdure, whose circuit may be two marine miles, lies south-east and north-west from the most southern point of the east coast of the large island ; its form occasioned it to be given the name of ILE PLATE (FLAT Island) : the channel which separates it from MARCHAND's Island is not above half a league in width ; and it appeared to make a part of the large island, when the southern extremity of the latter bore north-west 4 or 5° north : they were seen detached only when FLAT Island bore north 4 or 5° east. In steering north-west, in order to reconnoitre more closely the south-west coast of MARCHAND's Island, there was distinguished near the south point, a rock almost white, whose form is that of an obelisk : it received that name ; and the point was called POINTE DE L'OBELISQUE (OBELISK Point). In sailing from this point to the most western point that was in sight, the coast, for an extent of two leagues and a half or three leagues, runs to the north-west 4 or 5° north.

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About half an hour before noon, the southern extremity of FLAT Island bore, in one with OBELISK Point, south-east by east; and, from this position, OBELISK Rock appeared to be detached from MARCHAND'S Island, and separated from the large island by a very narrow channel, strewn with rocks even with the water's edge.

The south-west part of the great island, along which the SOLIDE ranged at the distance of half league, presents some small sandy bays, on the skirts of which, among plantain and bread-fruit trees, cocoa-palms, and other large trees, were perceived some scattered huts, from which the inhabitants issued in order to run to the shore and contemplate the ship. The aspect of this island, in this part, is as agreeable as it is varied. Hills, the gentle slopes and the summits of which are covered by lively verdure; vallies shaded by diversified plantations; several rivulets which were distinguished from the ship, and which restore to the land, dried up by the parching rays of the sun, the coolness and humidity necessary for the reproduction of plants; lastly, a beautiful cascade, whose foaming waters precipitate themselves into a valley: all these objects, united in a small space, alternately attracted and agreeably fixed the eye. Some high mountains, the summits of which are arid and broken, and which must refuse every kind of culture, occupy the centre of the island; but these mountains cease to appear lofty, when

the view is directed to some peaks of naked and inaccessible rocks, whose sharp spires seem to be long to steeples.

Continuing to range along the west coast of the island, Captain MARCHAND perceived, at noon, a second point in a line with the first, which, till then, had served as a point of direction. He presently discovered, between these two points a deep opening, which seemed to promise a safe and convenient shelter. Captain MASSE, second in command on board the SOLIDE, was dispatched with two officers and a detachment of ten men to reconnoitre the anchorage; and the ship stood off and on abreast of this bight, waiting for the boat's return. In the mean time, a canoe with three islanders approached the ship; one of them ventured to ascend into the chains; he appeared to waver between fear and confidence; Captain MARCHAND made him some presents, which he seemed to receive with an air of indifference; but he could not be prevailed on to come into the ship: on a movement made by the sailors in the execution of a manœuvre, his fright was so great that he threw himself into his canoe and paddled away from the vessel. In the afternoon, other canoes approached the ship, and two islanders came on board without any hesitation: they examined every thing with attention, and expressed their surprise by fits of laughter. One of them ventured to go all over the ship, and whatever he saw ap-
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peared to please him. At the sight of the hogs and fowls; he gave them the same names by which they are called by the natives of the MENDOÇA Islands; but it was thought that the nails, the knives, and the other trifles which were offered to him were objects absolutely new to him; and thence it may be conjectured that the two groups, although little distant from each other, have no habitual communication. Among other presents that were made him, a looking-glass in which he saw his face, made him burst into laughter. His companion seemed stupid; he would never quit the first place where he had sat down on entering the ship. These islanders appeared well-disposed, confident, and grateful: in exchange for the presents which had been made them, they offered and gave most cordially their whole stock, which consisted of two caps made of cocks' feathers, very dirty, and a fish-hook of mother-of-pearl; but the gifts of friendship are not calculated; sentiment constitutes their value.

The SOLIDE's boat returned at six o'clock in the afternoon. It appeared, by Captain MASSE's report, that the bight which he had visited, contains two coves; the one, situated in the northern part, that is, at the head of the bay; and the other, to the eastward, on entering; but neither appeared fit for receiving a ship. A pretty rivulet, the banks of which are covered with water-cresses, discharges itself into the latter cove, where

where are seen two springs of running water : the swell there is scarcely perceptible ; landing is convenient, and a boat might find every facility in providing herself with water. The houses are scattered, and intermixed, as at SANTA CHRISTINA with agreeable thickets, which defend them from the burning heat of the sun, and in which were recognised the same species of trees as had been seen in the MENDOÇA Islands. Neither habitations nor inhabitants were perceived in the north cove ; but in that to the eastward, for which the boat steered, about a hundred and fifty natives of both sexes were assembled on the shore, and manifested as much eagerness as curiosity. He who appeared to be the chief of the district put off in a canoe, and came to meet the strangers in order to welcome them ; he was seated on a sort of bench erected in the bow of the canoe. Some presents were made to him ; and, in return, he offered coconuts, fish, and a pearl-oyster shell, perfectly polished. The strangers, on coming on shore, were received with every demonstration of joy and goodwill.

It was not possible that, in a visit and an inspection of a few hours, Captain MASSE could acquire of the country and of the sort of men who inhabit it, a knowledge which might suffice for fixing an opinion concerning either the one or the other ; we can know no more of them than what a rapid glance permitted him to catch. It must, however,

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be admitted that the man of nature, who shews himself at first what he is, may be better known in a single visit, than would be, after a long intercourse, the civilized man, who has made for himself a countenance, a mask, and whom civilization has, by long habit, taught to dissemble vice, and feign virtue.

The natives of MARCHAND'S Island are of the same colour as those of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA; and every thing indicates that they are of the same origin: their dress is similar, that of nature without any addition; but the custom of imprinting on their body various whimsical figures, is not so general as in the islands discovered by MENDANA; a very small number of them appear to be tattooed; their ornaments are the same; but of these they wear not many; among them all they possessed only a few, of which they stripped themselves to give to the strangers who visited them: their arms are the same, the lance and the javelin. They appeared less lively, less intelligent than the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA: their stature is perhaps as tall; but their bodies present not that perfect *ensemble*, those beautiful forms of the antique, which attract admiration in the Mendoçans; neither have they that warlike air which bespeaks a proud and independent character. In those who had come on board, there was remarked less dexterity in managing their canoes, which, however, are of a

construction similar to that of the canoes of SANTA CHRISTINA. In the interview that took place with them on shore, the French had reason to be well satisfied with their peaceable and friendly behaviour : different, in this respect, from all the tribes of the GREAT OCEAN, they manifested no inclination to theft ; they did not even take the liberty of making a request, and seemed to deny themselves even a wish.

The women of this island, as to charm of figure, elegance of stature, and other natural allurements, are by no means inferior to those of the MENDOÇA Islands ; but the sweet bashfulness of innocence gives an additional attraction to their beauty : decency reigns in their dress, which is composed of cloth made of the bark of the *morus papyrifera*, and fabricated with their own hands in the manner of the TAHEITEE cloths, though without having their fineness. They seemed not to avoid, but to dread the presence of the strangers : and although their looks fixed on them, and their outstretched neck, revealed the impatience of curiosity which endeavours to have a nearer view without approaching, the distance which they left between the French and themselves, proved their reserve ; and it might be imagined that this distance would never have been passed, had not some officious old men gone and taken by the hand the youngest among them, in order to offer them as a homage to their guests,

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as we offer a seat to him who pays us a visit. But, very far from the shamelessness and effrontery of the Mendoça women, those who had obtained a preference which they seemed to dread, approached only with repugnance, and even trembling; every thing announced that it was on their part an act of submission: like the innocent victim which the priest drags to the altar.

I forbear to proceed. Thus, then, old age considers it an honour to prostitute youth and graces! Thus this custom, common to so many people, and so revolting in our manners, is here regarded as a duty so important, so sacred, that the care of its accomplishment can be intrusted only to the sages of the nation! If we pass, in thought, from one part of the earth to another, we shall discover, at every step, that the moral man offers to the meditation of the philosopher differences more striking than those which he observes in the physical man: in the latter, the difference the most characterised is that of the *white* from the *black*, of the inhabitant of SCANDINAVIA from the negro of SENEGAL; but this transition in the species is not sudden; and if we travel over the known countries of the globe, we shall pass from one colour to another by imperceptible shades: it is otherwise with the moral man: can there, for instance, be found intermediate shades between the conjugal fidelity imposed by our manners, and the prostitution honoured among the tribes disseminated over the

GREAT OCEAN? There are then virtues and vices, as there is a beauty and a deformity, of locality and opinion: change latitude, deformity changes into beauty; vice is changed into virtue*.

Captain MARCHAND imposed on the bay where the French had been so amicably received, the name of BAIE DU BON ACCUEIL (WELCOME BAY).

The discovery which he had just made of a land till then unknown, required that he should navigate with prudence during the night, in a sea which no navigator had crossed; besides, he intended to reconnoitre the north-west coast of MARCHAND'S Island; and, in order not to increase his distance from it, he stood off and on, with variable winds, from east to east-north-east, attended by frequent squalls.

On the 22d, at dawn of day, he stood on to double the northern point of WELCOME Bay: at seven o'clock, it bore north-east 4 or 5° east; and he, at the same time, set two other points *in one*, or in a line with each other, in the same direction as the first. Continuing to stand to the northward, he discovered, nearly in the east, beyond the before-mentioned points, summits of land de-

* I do not say that it is right that this is so; but I say that facts seem to prove that this is: I have not undertaken to paint men as they ought to be, but as they are; I am writing history; I am not making a *Treatise on morality*.

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tached from each other, and presenting the appearance of a continuation of islots: the distance did not allow of distinguishing whether these summits, which appeared to be islots, were not rather hillocks, belonging to the extreme lands of MARCHAND'S Island; but, from various combinations of bearings, he was decidedly of opinion that these hillocks were the same which, on reconnoitring the island on the east side, he had presumed must be connected with each other by low lands, and form the north-east part of MARCHAND'S Island; no land appeared to the northward beyond these outer summits. A more particular examination of this part of the island would have required him to employ a great deal of time in working to windward; and he thought himself sufficiently informed not to doubt that the island was terminated, towards the east, at the most remote summit that was discovered on that side.

From the moment when the SOLIDE had doubled the north point of WELCOME Bay, the most western of the west coast, Captain MARCHAND clearly perceived, at the distance of about nine leagues, a second island, which presented itself under an angle of about 11° , between the north half west, and the north-north-west half north. At the same time, he thought he saw, at a greater distance to leeward, other lands, which bore west

and west-south-west; and this appearance varied not during the whole forenoon.

But before he stood on to reconnoitre the land which made its appearance to the northward, he wished to go on shore on the north-west coast of MARCHAND'S Island, in order to deposit there a monument which might confirm the discovery of the French, and their act of taking possession. The boat was manned and armed for carrying thither Captain MARCHAND, who was accompanied by Captain CHANAL.

The ship kept standing off and on at a small distance from the land. Her latitude, at noon, by observation, was $9^{\circ} 21'$, and that which was indicated by account since her departure from LA MADRE DE DIOS, agreed with it perfectly: the longitude of the ship, at the same period, deduced from that which had been determined in the morning by several observations of distances of the sun and moon, was $142^{\circ} 27'$ *, and that which was given by the dead reckoning, deduced from the longitude of the harbour of LA MADRE DE DIOS, differed from it only by 3 minutes in excess. This agreement between the result of the reckoning, and that of the observation, proves that the currents had not acted in any direction, and that these determinations may be employed for fixing, in a satisfactory manner, the geographical position

* See Note XXXI.

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of MARCHAND'S Island in regard to LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, by making use of the bearings taken in the morning and at noon, the periods of the observations which served to determine the longitude and latitude of the ship *.

It was not till after she had struggled for several hours, by dint of rowing, against a tolerably heavy sea, and against strong squalls which came off the land, that the boat succeeded in reaching a cove on the north-west coast, situated to the northward and within a little distance of the north point of WELCOME Bay. Captain MARCHAND and his party went on shore on a platform of rocks, separated from the coast by a small arm of the sea. The natives, who had assembled on the shore to the number of about two hundred, and among whom were observed several women, hastened to meet the strangers, and took them on their shoulders, in order to carry them across the channel. The visitors were received as they had been in WELCOME Bay. The islanders broke out into the same transports of joy. The chief, with whom the French had so much reason to be well satisfied on the preceding day, was at the head of the natives collected at the place where they landed; and, as they perceived in this quarter no habitation, they presumed that this chief and those who accompanied him, inhabit the skirts of the

* See the bearings in the *Journal of the Route*, on the 22d of June.

former bay and the neighbouring coves, whence curiosity had attracted them to that where the French now were. This latter bay, destitute of verdure, exhibits, throughout, only a barren soil, which could not invite the natives to fix here their abode: it would, however, furnish wood for fuel; and here was remarked a small rivulet or ravine, which might, especially in a rainy season, be sufficient for the supply of a ship, if a heavy swell which breaks on the large stones that skirt the beach, did not render landing impracticable for long-boats. As far as an opinion could be formed of it by the eye, all this north-west side of the island, although well-wooded, is not so fertile as the south-west coast; the declivity of the hills is more rugged, and its aspect is less agreeable.

The natives crowded round the strangers, but without confusion, without being importunate, without making themselves troublesome; they seemed to have no other object than to obtain a nearer view of them. Captain MARCHAND and his party distributed to them various trifles, such as nails, looking-glasses, knives, fish-hooks, and coloured glass-beads: and it is needless to mention that, in the distribution of the presents, the modest virgins were not forgotten. They received in exchange, from these inoffensive islanders, and from their chief in particular, a lance, a dart or javelin, two fans made of feathers, and two large pearl-oyster shells.

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Since navigation has made known, to Europeans, parts of the terrestrial globe of which the ancients did not suspect the existence, they have persuaded themselves that the whole world belongs to them; and that the lands which they happen to discover, are portions of their universal domain which Nature was to blame to alienate, and which ought to return under their domination: too happy still are the primitive possessors of the discovered countries, if the usurper, in order to establish the rights of sovereignty, has not recourse to that thundering weapon, invented in our EUROPE, with which the ancients were so fortunate as not to be acquainted, and which, in the space of a century, so short when it is compared to the duration of the world, has destroyed, or submitted to a few men, half of the human species. Captain MARCHAND, following the example of his numerous predecessors, thought it incumbent on him to take possession, in the name of the French nation, of the island of which he had recently made the discovery, a possession which involved as a right, according to the received opinion, that of the other islands which he might discover in the same quarter. This ceremony, which would be only ridiculous from its inutility, if it were not contrary to the law of nature and of nations, was performed by fastening with four nails, against the trunk of a large tree, an inscription containing the name of the ship and of the captain, and the act of taking possession

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possession of the island by the French. The natives who observed with the attention of curiosity, all that was doing by the strangers, the object of their admiration, certainly did not suspect that the latter were solemnly taking possession of the land where the bones of their forefathers reposed, and were giving them a master in a hemisphere which neither they nor their ancestors ever heard of. But though the peaceable disposition of these islanders might afford the hope that they would respect this monument, which, however, was to last no longer than till the rust should consume the nails, or time or men throw down the obelisk, it was thought that prudence commanded, for greater safety, and *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the inscription to be written on three sheets of paper, which were rolled up separately and put into three glass bottles, corked and sealed: one was deposited in the hands of the venerable chief of the district; the second was delivered to a man of a certain age; and the third was intrusted to the custody of a young girl: three generations scarcely seemed sufficient to answer for so valuable a deposit. Of all the presents that were made to the inhabitants of the country which had just been united to FRANCE, the bottles were those which they received with most pleasure, and to which, without suspecting that they contained the act of their union to an empire of EUROPE, they appeared to attach the greatest value. From this disposition on their

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side, no doubt was entertained of their preserving them carefully, and their visitors were convinced that a conquest in bottles is secure against every event. Would it not be supposed that the French wished to have it understood by all the navigators who thus conquered the world *post-haste*, that an act of taking possession, if performed in the style of theirs, has all the fragility of the glass which is to protect its title from the injury of ages?

As soon as this awful ceremony was concluded, the north-west bay of MARCHAND'S Island was proclaimed LA BAIE DE POSSESSION (POSSESSION BAY), without any opposition or remonstrance on the part of the ancient proprietors; and their silence must, forsooth, be interpreted as a tacit assent.

The astonishment of the natives of this island at the sight of Europeans and European commodities, their ignorance of traffic, their simplicity, their confidence—every thing seems to indicate that the French are the first navigators who have set their foot on this land. The mild, peaceable, and friendly disposition which these kind islanders manifested, they owe wholly to nature; for they were not aware with what strength those men, whose species and power were till then unknown to them, came armed; and the marks of good-will and friendship of which they were so lavish towards a handful of strangers, who could not have appeared to them formidable, cannot be attributed to a sentiment

timent of fear, with which no act on the part of the French either could or ought to have inspired them: for our voyagers did not even indulge themselves, either in WELCOME BAY or POSSESSION BAY, in firing a single shot at any sea-bird; they were apprehensive that the report of a fire-arm would spread terror among simple and inoffensive men to whom they owed gratitude. These worthy people are yet ignorant of the effect of European arms: and may they never know it! MARCHAND's Island will then be reckoned in the too small number of the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, the discovery of which has not been polluted by the effusion of human blood.

If two visits of a few hours can suffice for forming a general idea of a people in a state of nature, they are not sufficient for ascertaining in detail the productions of the soil; and our voyagers merely discovered from the beach, without penetrating into the interior of the country, that the trees which grow on MARCHAND's Island are, in general, of the same species as those which are met with in the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA. As they did not visit the habitations, they had no opportunity of learning whether the newly-discovered island afford hogs and fowls; but they are justified in this supposition, since the natives who came on board the SOLIDE, on her first appearance off the island, and there saw some of these animals, knew them immedi-

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immediately, and called them by the same names as were given them by the natives of SANTA CHRISTINA : it cannot be doubted that they have hens at least ; for the caps, of which they made a present to the French, were composed of cocks' feathers ; and where cocks are, we must suppose that there are hens.

All that Captain CHANAL could do in the little time which he passed in POSSESSION Bay, was to examine the soil of the island in a mass. He observed that the rocks with which this bay is skirted, and those which project to form its points, differ materially from the rocks of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS of SANTA CHRISTINA, which, from the examination made of them by GEORGE FORSTER, " contain volcanic productions, or different kinds of lava, some of which are full of white and greenish shells*." The stone of which the rocks of POSSESSION Bay are formed, is gray, of the same quality as that of most of the quarries in FRANCE, and appears not to have undergone any alteration. In some places, are to be distinguished parallel strata, inclined to the horizon ; and, in others, the strata are horizontal : the peaks, like spires of steeples overlooking the high mountains of the island, appear to be of the same substance, and have the same colour, as the rocks of which the coasts are com-

* *George Forster's Voyage*, vol. ii. page 26.

posed ;

posed; no trace of fire, no sign of the effect of a volcano, is to be discovered: these masses of rocks accumulated, and inclined under different angles, would seem rather to indicate that this island either belonged to a large land, the lower parts of which have been swallowed up in the waters, or that some violent shocks, which it has experienced in an earthquake, have weighed down the soil, and occasioned the falling and crumbling of the rocks of which its borders are formed. These spiral peaks which overlook the mountains, remind us of the description, given by GEORGE FORSTER, of the east part of the Island of LA DOMINICA of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA *. MARCHAND'S Island is not sufficiently distant from the former, for us not to be justified in supposing that they both owe their origin to the same convulsion of Nature; with this difference however, that the Island of SANTA CHRISTINA, the quality of whose soil there has been an opportunity of examining, and probably too the other islands of the group of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA which have not been visited, preserve proofs of the action of fire; whereas MARCHAND'S Island, in the part which was examined, presented no volcanic production; yet it is doubtful whether, on penetrating into the interior of the island, there would not have been

* See page 149 of this Volume.

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When the boat had returned on board, and was hoisted in, about four o'clock in the afternoon, Captain MARCHAND stood to the northward, in order to reconnoitre the new land which had been discovered in that direction. The point that appeared the most westerly, a little time before sunset, bore north 6 or 7° west at the distance of four leagues; and, at the same instant, MARCHAND'S Island bore from south-south-east to south-east half east. The colour of the water having appeared to change on a sudden, he tried for soundings, but a line of ninety fathoms did not reach the bottom. He then stood to the southward, and plied to windward during the night. The wind was variable; and some hard squalls which obliged him to reduce his sail, occasioned the ship to make a rather considerable drift to the westward: this accident prevented him from being, the next day, able to get far enough to windward to reconnoitre the new land as closely as he had intended.

At day-break, the part which appeared to terminate to the westward the south coast of this land bore north-north-east half east. If, at the same time, the eye was directed to leeward, appearances of other lands were there to be seen; but the clouds which were heaped up on the horizon might induce the fear of an illusion, and we do not

not take upon us to affirm that these are real lands: it was remarked, however, that they were situated in the same quarter where, the day before, Captain MARCHAND had perceived the same appearances, which had been invariable during the whole forenoon, and to which, for the remainder of the day, no particular attention had been paid; because he and his officers had been occupied by the visit and the act of taking possession of MARCHAND'S Island.

He crowded sail to get to the northward. There were seen a great number of different birds, such as boobies, terns, man-of-war birds, tropic-birds, and some large red-winged flying-fishes: these last differed from those which had been seen to the eastward of the MENDOÇA Islands, by their having only two wings instead of four. There were caught with hook and line several large bonitoes, which were a regale to the ship's company.

At half past nine o'clock in the morning, our navigators plainly distinguished the extremities of the new land, which extended from north-east half east to east: the distance of each of the extreme points was six or seven leagues; but they were only four from the part of the coast which was nearest to the ship. The summit of the island is flat, and, although it is high, the ground rises with a gentle and regular slope, from the sea-shore to this summit: they saw no break, no mountain terminated in a peak. They judged that

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that this island must be fertile, and afford an agreeable abode; they did not approach it sufficiently to know whether it be peopled; but every thing announces that it must be so. Captain MARCHAND called it ISLE BAUX (BAUX's Island) from the name of the SOLIDE's owners.

This island was too far to windward to afford him the hope of reaching it; and not wishing to lose valuable time in an examination which could only have gratified curiosity, without promising any advantage, he stood on to the north-west by west. In steering this course, Captain MARCHAND's object was both to reconnoitre another land less considerable, which presented itself between the north-west by north and north-north-west, and to obtain, before night, searoom sufficient to be able to ply to windward with safety, in case he should, in getting to the northward, make the discovery of some new land in that direction.

The horizon between the south and the west constantly remained vapourous, and charged with heaps of clouds, as is usually seen over the islands situated between the tropics: several of the people even thought that they distinguished land. But Captain MARCHAND was in haste to repair to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA: the season was advancing, and it was not rational to engage in discoveries, which, by carrying the ship to leeward of her course, were likely to lengthen her voyage

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considerably: this would have been exposing, by delay, the success of an expedition of which the fur-trade was the sole object; and it could not be expected that Captain MARCHAND should sacrifice to views of general, but doubtful, utility, interests more direct, which the confidence of his owners had intrusted to his zeal and prudence. It is for governments to order voyages of discovery, and to support the expense of them; and the navigator, employed by merchants, who, on his route, has occupied himself in adding to our knowledge by his researches, has deserved well of all the nations which share the empire of the OCEAN.

In steering for the new land which he had discovered, when he terminated his examination of BAUX's Island, Captain MARCHAND soon found that it was a small island; and, at the same time, he perceived another, of no great elevation, and not far distant from the former. He shaped his course to pass to leeward of these two lands; but he regulated it so as to run as close to them as prudence would allow.

At noon, BAUX's Island, the nearest point of which might be at the distance of six leagues and a half, bore from east 6° north to east-south-east 2° south; and the two newly-discovered islets, for which the SOLIDE was steering, bore from north-west 7° north to north-north-west 6° west, at the distance of three or four leagues. At the same moment, the latitude of the ship, by observation,

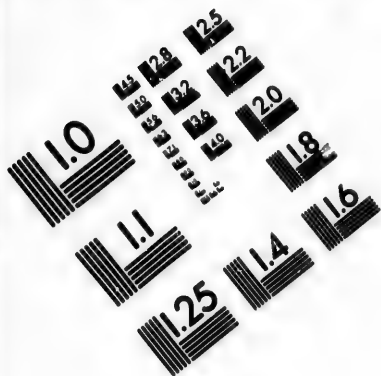
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was $8^{\circ} 50'$; and her longitude, on reducing her progress to the westward, indicated by the dead reckoning, to the longitude determined the day before by observations of the moon's distance from the sun, was $142^{\circ} 43'$; but, on correcting the progress by account towards the west, according to the knowledge of the effect of the currents which had been acquired by the comparison and combination of different bearings, Captain MARCHAND carried the longitude to $142^{\circ} 46'$.

At three quarters past one o'clock in the afternoon, the SOLIDE had arrived within the distance of a quarter of a league to leeward of the most western of the two islots which it was intended to reconnoitre: the southern extremity of the latter bore, in one with the middle of the most eastern, east 1° north; and a little time after, the middle of the former, in one with the middle of BAUX'S Island, east-south-east 1° east. These two islots are separated from each other by a channel a mile wide: that to the westward is the larger: it is sufficiently elevated to be perceived at seven or eight leagues' distance; and it is clothed with moss in some parts: that to the eastward is small and low, and covered with the dung of birds; from its east point runs a reef, which stretches to the south-east: a great number of birds of different species were fluttering round these two islots, which Captain MARCHAND named LES DEUX FRÈRES (THE TWO BROTHERS).





During the whole afternoon of this day, our navigators ceased not to perceive to leeward the appearance of an extensive land which lay to the west-south-west: and as this appearance was kept up for two days, we can scarcely refrain from believing that there exists in this quarter some land which has not yet been discovered.

After he had rounded and weathered THE TWO BROTHERS to the westward, Captain MARCHAND steered to the north-north-west, when, at half past five o'clock in the afternoon, he discovered a new land, bearing from north by east 5 or 6° east, to north-east 1° north; and, with a view of reconnoitring it better, he hauled close on a wind: but, as he thought he likewise saw some other lands to leeward of this, and as, with that idea, it was not prudent to continue standing to the northward during the night, he waited for day-light, making short trips in the space of sea over which he had sailed before sun-set.

On the 24th, in the morning, the new land, which had been discovered the day before, was again distinguished; and, while it bore from north-north-east 1° north, to north-east by north 2° east, a second land was discovered to the north-east 2 or 3° north, and at the distance of about twelve leagues. Captain MARCHAND gave to the former the name of ILE MASSE (MASSE'S Island), and to the latter that of ILE CHANAL (CHANAL'S Island): the two officers employed on

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on board the ship as second captains, who had, with equal intelligence and zeal, seconded the labours of the commander, in the discovery of a new archipelago, undoubtedly deserved that their names should be attached to two of the islands of which it is composed.

At a quarter past seven, at half past eight, and at three quarters past ten o'clock, bearings were taken of MASSE's and CHANAL's Islands: at the first, CHANAL's Island, in one with the south extremity of MASSE's, bore north-east 5 or 6° east: by the second, MASSE's Island bore from east-north-east $5^{\circ} 30'$ east of north-east by east, the part of MASSE's Island the nearest to the ship being distant five leagues: and, in this situation, MASSE's Island concealed from view CHANAL's Island, the northern extremity of which began to be discovered by the north shore of the former: lastly, by the third, MASSE's Island bore from east by north to east by south, at the distance of five leagues; and CHANAL's Island, from east-north-east 1° east to east by north. At the time of the last bearing, Captain MARCHAND and Captain CHANAL took separately two sets of observations of the moon's distance from the sun, the result of which, by a mean between them all, gave $143^{\circ} 8'$ of west longitude, for the place at which the ship was arrived. The dead reckoning deduced from the position which had been fixed from the observations made, on the morning of the 22d, off MAR-

CHAND's Island, had given a longitude which differs from that observed on the 24th, only by an excess of one minute: therefore we are justified in concluding that the positions of MASSE's and CHANAL's Islands, in regard to MARCHAND's Island, as well as their absolute longitude, may, from the observations of the 22d and 24th, be determined with sufficient correctness. The latitude observed on this latter day, at noon, was $7^{\circ} 54'$; and it was discovered that, in the twenty-four hours, the currents had carried the ship 10' to the north-ward. By reducing the longitude observed in the morning, to the position of the ship at noon, it will be found that, at that moment, she must have been in $43^{\circ} 10'$ west from Paris.

Here terminates the discovery of Captain MARCHAND. The group on which he imposed the name of ILES DE LA RÉVOLUTION (REVOLUTION Islands), composed of MARCHAND's Island with the circumjacent islets, BAUX's large Island, the islets THE TWO BROTHERS, and MASSE's and CHANAL's Islands, ought to be united to the group of LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, in order to form, in the geographical system of the globe, but one same archipelago composed of ten principal islands that may be considered as being the summits of a chain of subaqueous mountains, which occupies about sixty leagues in extent on a south-east and north-west line. It has been seen, in fact, that, in clear weather, MARCHAND's Island may be discerned

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* It will be seen that the Island, the most situated in latitude 7° *lana*, the most southern, which gives $10^{\circ} 2'$ middle of *Masse's* is $143^{\circ} 50'$; and the Island of *La Madalen* in $141^{\circ} 9' 15''$, and

discerned from the harbour of LA MADRE DE DIOS of the island of SANTA CHRISTINA; and its south-west point, or OBELISK Point, is distant from the latter island only nineteen leagues to the north-west by west 1° west: it is still nearer to LA DOMINICA, from which it is distant no more than sixteen leagues to the west-north-west; and it is situated in the parallel, and at nineteen leagues' distance from the small island, called HOOD'S Island, the most northern of the group of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA. The group of the REVOLUTION Islands occupies $1^{\circ} 42'$ in latitude, and $44'$ only in longitude; and by uniting it to that of the MENDOÇA Islands, it will form an archipelago, which will occupy $2^{\circ} 40'$ in latitude, and $1^{\circ} 47'$ in longitude*.

If we wish to employ the results of the observations of latitude and longitude, taken in sight of the islands discovered by Captain MARCHAND; the different bearings of the lands compared with each other; the distance run according to the *Journal of the Route*, and corrected according to the

* It will be seen, hereafter, that the north coast of *Chabon's* Island, the most northern of the *Revolution* group, is situated in latitude $7^{\circ} 48'$: *Cook* places the middle of *La Madalena*, the most southern of the *Mendoça* Islands, in $10^{\circ} 25'$, which gives $10^{\circ} 28'$ for its south coast. The longitude of the middle of *Masse's* Island, the most western of the former group, is $143^{\circ} 50'$; and its west coast will be in $142^{\circ} 53'$: the middle of *La Madalena*, the most eastern of the latter group, is in $141^{\circ} 9' 15''$, and its east coast, in $141^{\circ} 6'$.

observations ; the distances estimated by the eye, at the moment of taking each bearing ; lastly, all the nautical details mentioned in the journal of Captain CHANAL ; we may fix, with sufficient accuracy for the safety of navigation, the geographical positions, both absolute and relative, of the five islands of the group, as well as their respective extent. The employment of these *data* combined with each other has led me to the following results :

MARCHAND's Island may be four or five leagues in length on a north-east and south-west line, supposing that the little hills which were perceived in its north-east quarter, as well on the east as the west side, are connected by low lands to the body of the island: its greatest breadth, which is in the southern part, is three leagues; but its configuration is such that its breadth varies considerably; it is estimated that its circuit must be ten or eleven leagues. The middle of the island is situated in $9^{\circ} 21'$ south latitude, and $142^{\circ} 19'$ west longitude. The latitude of WELCOME Bay is $9^{\circ} 22'$. MARCHAND's Island may be discerned at the distance of twenty leagues, when the horizon is neither vapourous, nor charged with clouds; a circumstance rather uncommon in the seas situated between the tropics.

The circuit of BAUX's Island is about fifteen leagues, as far as an opinion could be formed from the extent of its southern and western coasts; for it was not possible to obtain a knowledge of the
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* See Note XX
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windward side of the island, which faces the north-east. Its most northern point, that to the north-west, from the bearing taken on the 22d at noon, is in latitude $8^{\circ} 48'$; and the longitude of this same point, according to the bearing observed in regard to the most western point of MARCHAND'S Island, is in $142^{\circ} 31'$. The middle of the island may be placed in latitude $8^{\circ} 54'$, and longitude $142^{\circ} 25'$.

The illots THE TWO BROTHERS lie from each other, east and west. In subjecting the western islot to the position of the north-west point of BAUX'S Island, it was found that its middle bore, in regard to that point, west by north, at the distance of ten or eleven leagues: therefore its latitude must be $8^{\circ} 42'$, and its longitude $142^{\circ} 55'$.

The observations for the longitude, made on the morning of the 24th, and those made at noon of the same day for the latitude*, reduced to MASSE'S Island by a bearing and a distance estimated by the eye, place the middle of that island in latitude 8° , or $8^{\circ} 1'$, and longitude $142^{\circ} 50'$: its bearing, in regard to the north-west point of BAUX'S Island, is north-north-west 2° north, at the distance of sixteen leagues; and in regard to THE TWO BROTHERS, north half east.

On the 24th at noon, the southern extremity of CHANAL'S Island bore directly west, at the mo-

* See Note XXXII, and the *Journal of the Route* on the 24th June.

ment when the observed latitude of the ship was $7^{\circ} 54'$: it occupies about 6' from north to south; therefore its middle may be in latitude $7^{\circ} 51'$, and its longitude is $142^{\circ} 35'$: it lies to the north-east by east 2° east, at the distance of four or five leagues from MASSE's Island.

The bearings of these two last-mentioned islands were taken at distances too great for it to be possible to determine with precision their respective extent: they appear nearly of equal size; and it was thought that they might be allowed seven or eight leagues in circuit.

With the data which I have just mentioned, Captain CHANAL constructed a particular chart of the REVOLUTION Islands; and, by connecting it with that of LAS MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, published by Captain COOK in the first volume of his second voyage round the world, we shall have the complete chart of an archipelago composed of ten principal islands, which, as I have said, occupies, on a south-east and north-west line, a space of sixty marine leagues. It will, undoubtedly, not be expected that either Captain CHANAL's chart, or that of Captain COOK, should present the topography of the shore of each island, still less that of the interior: it is scarcely possible for a navigator to devote himself to details in a first examination; Captain CHANAL could only lay hold of some relating to the west coast of MARCHAND's Island, along which the SOLIDE ranged very closely. Each island, in particular, would re-

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quire the labour of several days *, if it were meant to take bearings of all the points, delineate on paper all the sinuosities of the coast, represent strictly its configuration, lay down the soundings, and assign to the mountains their true places, &c. Captain CHANAL's chart, as well as that of Captain COOK, presents merely the mass of each island, drawn as exactly as it is permitted to seize its form by bearings taken in sailing within sight of a land: each island is represented on the chart with its principal dimensions, and in its relative position in regard to those which, being the nearest, may have been perceived at the same time; the latitude and longitude of their extreme points are fixed; the width of the channels which separate them, determined: and, although the depth of these channels was not sounded, as the islands are all high land, and as it is well known that the sea is every where deep between elevated lands, the navigator, keeping his lead going, will not, in his route lead him thither, hesitate to cross an archipelago, the whole and the parts of which are determined with an exactness sufficient for the safety of navigation.

It must have been remarked, that, during the course of the day of the 22d, and that of the 23d of June, Captain MARCHAND had not ceased to see, *to leeward*, in the west-south-west quarter, some

* And perhaps of a month for a single vessel.

appearances of land, which seemed fixed in the horizon; and that even several of the people had thought that they clearly distinguished land: it must be regretted that the object of his voyage and the interest of his employers permitted him not to devote himself to a verification that would probably have added new discoveries to those which he had just made; for, by following on a general chart of the world the tracks of the navigators, both ancient and modern, who have frequented these parts, there is not to be seen, over an extent of sea of about a hundred and fifty leagues, any track which has led to the south-west or south-south-west of the REVOLUTION Islands, or crossed the occult line that might be drawn from this group towards the point occupied by the appearances of land which were constantly perceived in that direction. The fixed state of the clouds, during two successive days, on the same points of the horizon, is, between the tropics, an almost indubitable sign that elevated lands, of a certain extent, arrest the clouds in their course, and force them to collect themselves in a heap. I leave Captain MARCHAND for a moment, in order to examine whether it would not be possible, from the information which we have acquired from other quarters, to draw some indication of the existence of a land, some probability that one must exist in these seas which have not yet been visited, and whether that land may

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may be situated to leeward of the group which Captain MARCHAND met with.

In the Collection of "*Observations on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy*," by REINHOLD FORSTER*, is to be seen a hydrographical chart, as extraordinary from the origin of its author, as interesting from the notions, although very imperfect, no doubt, which it has given us of the numberless islands situated to the eastward and westward of the meridian of the archipelago of the SOCIETY Isles, several of which have been found by Europeans, and of which it may be imagined that a greater number is still to be sought. This was the chart which was constructed by Sir JOSEPH BANKS, in COOK's first voyage, under the direction of TUPIA†, that native of the Island of ULITEA‡, whom the English navigator had brought to ENGLAND, and whom he since carried back to his native island §.

* *Reinhold Forster's Observations, &c.* page 513. See Plate IV. which presents a copy of the east part of this chart.

† *Tupaya*, according to the orthography of Mr. Forster.

‡ *O Raieta*, according to *George Forster*—*Tooleta* according to *Parkinson*.

§ This is evidently a mistake; for, on consulting *Cook's* first voyage (*Hawkefworth's Compilation*, vol. ii. page 180, and vol. iii. page 312 to 315), we find that *Tupia*, who was taken on board the *Endeavour* at his own earnest request, did not live to reach *England*, but fell a victim to the unhealthful climate of *Batavia*; his death being, in a great measure, accelerated by the loss of his young countryman *Tayeto*, who paid the debt of nature a few days before the interesting *Tupia*.

Translator.

TUPIA,

TUPIA, the most intelligent of the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN that any European navigator ever met with, had, in his excursions by sea, as well to the eastward as to the westward, gone as far as three and four hundred leagues from the archipelago of the SOCIETY Isles; in the course of his *Odyssey*, he had visited upwards of eighty islands of which he gave the names; he distinguished them by high lands and low, great and small; he fixed their extent comparatively with the Island of TAHEITEE; and, in specifying their respective position to the eastward or westward of a star which he designated, he indicated the point of the horizon towards which each island is situated; he likewise made known some particular observations which he had had an opportunity of making on the natives and the productions of each island. At a great distance to the north-east of TAHEITEE, at one of the extreme limits of his voyages, TUPIA places a group of *ten islands*, each of which bears a name on his chart*, and it is to be remarked that three of

* These ten islands, beginning with the most southern, are named according to the orthography employed in the chart: *o-Hancanea—Neco-Heeva—te-Manno—o-Otto—te-Rowha—Whattare Toah—WAITAHOO or Whattare-Oora—o-NATATA or o-NATATO—HEEVA-ROA—Teebooi.*

In lieu of *o-Natata*, Captain Chanal writes, for the French pronunciation, and as he heard it when the natives pronounced it, *o-Nitio*: instead of *Heeva-Roa*, he writes *o-Hiva-Hoa*; but George Forster observes that *Heeva-Roa*, is the pronunciation of the Tahaitians, and that the Mendoçans cannot articulate

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of these names, namely, O-NITEIO, O-HIVA-HŌA, and WAHITAHŌ are the same names that the natives of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA give to three of their islands, those of SAN PEDRO, LA DOMINICA, and SANTA CHRISTINA, thus named by MENDANA. I must first observe that the MENDOÇA Islands were not met with again till the year 1774, in Captain COOK's second voyage; that, till this period, the Europeans knew them only by the names of Saints which MENDANA had imposed on them; and that nevertheless those which are given to them by the natives of these islands, are written on the chart constructed by TUPIA during COOK's first voyage: therefore, it is proved that TUPIA knew these islands by the names given to them by the natives, before the English had visited them; and that it is not from the latter that he could learn the names. I observe, in the second place, that the identity of three of the names of the five islands which compose the group of MENDANA's MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA (and the name of the two others is not yet known) permits us not to doubt that this group is a portion of the archipelago composed of *ten islands* which TUPIA has placed to the north-east of the

culate the consonant *R*; it is well known that *o* and *te* are articles which the natives frequently suppress: lastly, instead of *Waitaho*, Captain CHOMAL writes *Wabitahō*, and *W. Wales*, *Ohitaho*. See page 85 of this volume.

SOCIETY Isles, at the extreme limit of his navigation to the eastward, that is to say, about three hundred leagues from these last-mentioned islands; and this distance of three hundred leagues, as well as the bearing to the north-east, is conformable to the results of the observations of our modern navigators: therefore, by joining to the five MENDOÇA Islands, the five REVOLUTION Islands, TUPIA's archipelago is complete, and is precisely as Captain MARCHAND found it.

I now pursue the examination of the chart of this first hydrographer of the GREAT OCEAN, and I see to the westward of his archipelago of *ten islands*, a large solitary island under the name of O-HEEVA-POTTO, which is situated to the westward of the archipelago: and I ask whether this O-HEEVA-POTTO might not be those lands, or that island, which I have hitherto presented only as an *appearance* of land, and which Captain MARCHAND ceased not to perceive to leeward of the REVOLUTION Islands, during the course of the days of the 22d and 23d?

It may be objected to me, that this island is placed on TUPIA's chart at too great a distance from the archipelago, for us to admit that Captain MARCHAND can have seen it. But, no doubt, the correctness of COOK's or LA PÉROUSE's charts is not required in that of a native of the SOCIETY Islands, who navigates in a canoe, without any means of measuring the rate of his progress, with-

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out any instrument to observe his latitude, without a compass to steer by? It must not be forgotten that he has no precise idea, no comparative measure of distances; *great* or *small*, those, for him, are the only differences; and the island to leeward, of which I am now speaking, must present itself to his mind as placed at a *great* distance from the ten islands which form the archipelago, when he compares this distance with those which the ten islands hold in regard to each other. Let us observe, however, that if the distance of the island to leeward, in regard to the archipelago, appears too great, as it is in fact, for it to be possibly perceived from the vicinity of the REVOLUTION Islands, it cannot at least be denied that it is placed in its true bearing in regard to this archipelago. I shall add, that it is probable that TUPIA, whatever he may have said, (for he is a traveller and consequently exaggerates), has not himself visited the eighty islands of which he makes mention, and that he has marked several on his chart, from information which he procured from the natives of the islands where he landed: but these islanders who, no doubt, are not all such intelligent, such skilful navigators as the hydrographer TUPIA, may very probably have indicated to him vaguely, by the point of the rising or of the setting of the sun or of a remarkable star, in what direction an island may bear with respect to another island too far distant to be perceived from the former; but neither

their knowledge nor their language, perhaps, have the extent necessary for giving an idea of distances otherwise than by the number of days which a canoe must employ for going from one point to another: and this manner of estimating the distance, is certainly not exact; an idea may be formed on that subject from the uncertainty in which we have been left by the accounts of some voyages performed in ancient times, and even of some others undertaken in an age less remote from ours, since the discovery of the New World.

It is unnecessary to say, that, in speaking of a land which must exist to leeward of the REVOLUTION Islands, in supporting the probability of its existence; from the induction drawn from TUPIA'S chart, I have pretended only to present a plain conjecture; I leave the verification of it to some zealous navigator, who, carried into these seas, and being able to dispose of his time, will not consider it as beneath his researches, to clear up the doubts of Captain MARCHAND, and to ascertain the correctness of TUPIA'S hydrography. Moreover, it will be seen, in the sequel of this narrative, that the French navigator is not the only one who perceived to leeward of the archipelago that we have just visited, appearances of land which were too permanent in the same quarter, for it to be possible for us to believe that they were only the effect of an illusion produced by a collection of clouds, which

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which might be heaped up and fixed on the same point of the horizon; a navigator belonging to the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA had occasion, in the same year and at the same place, to make the same remark *.

On

* It might be objected, that the disposition of the ten islands which form the archipelago, as it is indicated on *Tupia's* chart, constructed under his direction by Mr. *Banks*, is not conformable, in all points, to the results of the successive discoveries of the European navigators; that the three islands the names of which the natives of these islands have taught us: *o-Hiva-Hoa*, *Wahitabô*, and *o-Nitio*, belong, in his chart, to the northern part of the archipelago, that is, to three of the islands which were discovered by Captain *Marchand*; whereas *Tupia* applies these same names to three of the southern islands discovered by *Mendana*, and as, in fact, these names belong to islands to the southward: but, undoubtedly, it will not be supposed that *Tupia* was a sufficiently good geographer to arrange, on paper, from memory and with exactness, an archipelago composed of ten scattered islands; to fix their distances and their respective bearings, in regard to each other; and to afterwards apply to each of the islands the name that belongs to it among the ten islands with which he had charged his memory. *Tupia* has given his archipelago in a mass, and the ten names as they occurred, which was a great deal for him; and these names were applied nearly by chance, and, no doubt, at the pleasure of his interpreter as much as at his own: what is certain, is that he knew, about three hundred leagues from *Tabiteuea*, of a great archipelago composed of ten islands the names of which he had retained; and it seems to me that, in order to prove the identity of his archipelago of ten islands, and of that which is composed by the five *Mendocia* Islands and the five *Revolution* Islands, it is sufficient that three of the names which he had retained (and which are the only ones that have been verified) are found to be the same as those which are given by the natives of these

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lands,

On the 25th of June, Captain MARCHAND had lost sight of the *Revolution* Islands. In proportion as he advanced to the northward, the wind became fixed, and the horizon, clear; which made him presume that no other lands exist in the vicinity of these islands in the northern quarter: and, with this assurance, and after having determined by observation, the longitude of the

lands, to three of the islands of the archipelago. It may, besides, be observed that the relative situations which he has assigned by his sketch, as well to the islands which compose the southern part of his archipelago as those which compose the northern part of it, are, as far as they could be, respectively conformable to the general disposition of the group of the *Marquesas de Mendoza* and to that of the group of the *Revolution* Islands: and, in this respect, his chart presents an aggregate approaching more to truth, than our ancient charts presented of several parts of the globe, before they had been explored by our modern navigators. The identity of the archipelago of the ten islands which *Tupia* places three hundred leagues to the north-east of the *Society* Islands, and of that which is composed of the five *Mendoza* Islands and of the five *Revolution* Islands, being once admitted, it is allowable to have some confidence in the remainder of *Tupia*'s chart, and to consider it as a sort of index, which may, by making use of it with precaution, guide us in the search of several other islands of which he has indicated the names and given the positions, but which our navigators have not yet discovered. If it be not judging too favourably of his chart, we might suppose that his great island *Heeva-Potto*, which is seen to the westward of his archipelago of the ten, is the land that Captain *Marchand* ceased not to see during the course of the two days which he employed in exploring his group of the *Revolution* Islands, and which was likewise seen, in the same direction, by a navigator belonging to the *United States*.

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He alternately steered north, north by west, and north-north-west, carrying a press of sail according to the weather, and holding a north course as much and as often as the variations of the wind would allow.

On the 27th, he crossed the line in about the longitude of $143^{\circ} 15'$ west.

The next day, at half past six o'clock in the evening, it was thought that land was perceived to the west half south: the ship was then arrived at the latitude of $1^{\circ} 31'$ north, and longitude of $144^{\circ} 18'$ west. Captain MARCHAND stood on under easy sail, till one o'clock in the morning, and then brought to, in order to wait for day-light. At the dawn of day, the weather was remarkably clear; a great number of sea-swallows and tropic-birds were seen in the air; but every appearance of land had vanished. He resumed his course to the northward, under all the sail that the ship could carry.

On the 5th of July, towards noon, in latitude $10^{\circ} 20'$ north, and longitude $144^{\circ} 30'$ west, there was seen passing a large trunk of a tree, which appeared to have been floating but a short time; from this sign, it might be supposed that the ship was in the vicinity of some land; but no other indication supported the conjecture.

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On the 15th of this month, Captain MARCHAND began to distribute to the ship's company, who enjoyed perfect health, an allowance of beer made with essence of malt, and a mixture of sugar. This beverage, which is agreeable to the taste, is justly considered as a powerful preservative against the scurvy.

Lunar observations, made on the 20th, shewed that, since the 25th of the month of June, that is, in the interval of twenty-five days, the currents had carried the ship out of her apparent course $1^{\circ} 46'$, or a hundred and one miles to the westward, and $1^{\circ} 54'$, or one hundred and fourteen miles to the northward, and had occasioned her to make, in the direction of north-west $3^{\circ} 15'$ north, a progress of one hundred and fifty-three miles, for which the reckoning could not account. There was, however, reason to believe that the total amount of the error was not caused by the sole action of the currents; and that a part of it must be attributed to the error of the sand-glass which was employed for measuring the ship's way, and which indicated a duration too short by 2 or 3 seconds on the 30, or of about one-twelfth. The surplus of the amount of the error belongs to the action of the currents; but had not the dead reckoning been corrected by the daily observation of the latitude, and had not observations of the moon's distance from the sun announced under what meridian the ship was arrived, the error which

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* See Notes XX

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which proceeded from the false measure of time, indicated by the half-minute glass, would not have been suspected, while the log measured the ship's way: the errors in longitude would have been accumulated, and our navigators would, in making a useless progress to the westward, have lost a time which the advanced season rendered very valuable for a ship whose destination was to carry on a traffic for furs in the latitude of 57° north.

Some observations for the longitude, made on the 23d, 24th, and 26th of July indicated that, in the seas where the SOLIDE had sailed in the intervals of these periods, the setting of the currents towards the west had been inconsiderable. But their tendency towards the north had been more perceptible; there occurred an error in latitude of $21'$, from the 23d to the 24th; and, on the other days, the error varied from $5'$ to $10'$ in twenty-four hours*.

On the 27th, at noon, the SOLIDE had reached the latitude of $39^{\circ} 48'$, and longitude of $151^{\circ} 42'$ †. There had been seen passing near the ship, in the forenoon and preceding evening of this day, a considerable quantity of a species of sea-fruit, of

* See Notes XXXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII.

† The longitude observed on the 26th at noon, was $152^{\circ} 17'$ west, and from the 26th to the 27th, the ship's progress towards the east had been $0^{\circ} 35'$. (See the *Journal of the Route* at that period.)

a brownish colour, and similar, in point of shape and size, to the prickly husk of a chefnut, or to a small sea-urchin of the MEDITERRANEAN: there were also seen some *mollusca*, some sea-swallows, and storm-birds (*avis procellaria*). The night before, the cries of land-birds had been heard; and on the 28th, at day-break, the ship was surrounded by gulls, sea-swallows, and several flocks of other birds of the size of a pigeon, whose precipitate flight, like that of the sea-lark, which goes only a little way from the shore, indicated that those birds must belong to it. These different indications seemed to announce the vicinity of some unknown land; but cloudy weather, which shortened the radius of the horizon, did not allow the view to extend to a great distance. In 1778, Captain COOK, in his passage from the SANDWICH Islands to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, being in $41^{\circ} 15'$ north latitude (a parallel which differs not much from that which Captain MARCHAND had reached), and in longitude $160^{\circ} 20'$ west from PARIS, saw a shag, a species of bird which is never known to fly far from land; and this unexpected sight made him suspect the existence of some island in the vicinity of his position; he was confirmed in that opinion, when, in latitude $41^{\circ} 50'$, and longitude $144^{\circ} 50'$, he perceived a piece of drift-wood, the appearance of which announced that it had been but a short time in the water, and which had

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* See *Portlock's*
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† *Ibid*, and page

come from the westward*. In 1786, Captain PORTLOCK, bound in like manner to the coast of AMERICA, saw a great number of seals playing round the ship, in latitude $39^{\circ} 35'$, and longitude $154^{\circ} 30'$ from GREENWICH. This navigator observes that his distance from the coast of AMERICA was so considerable, that he cannot think those amphibious animals, which do not go far from land, came thence, or from any known islands near the coast; he adds that, finding himself placed between the two positions in which Captain Cook had some indications of land, and himself meeting with some in that he was in, he expected to discover some unknown island; but that, for several days, the weather was constantly thick and hazy, attended with drizzling rain, so that, had he passed within five miles of any land, it would have been impossible for him to have seen it; and the advanced season of the year not permitting him to waste any time in searching for undiscovered islands, he kept on his course to the north†. The observations made on board the SOLIDE, from which her latitude, on the 27th of July, was, as has been seen, $39^{\circ} 48'$, and her longitude, $152^{\circ} 42'$, placed the ship, at that period, $8^{\circ} 38'$, or about one hundred and thirty-

* See *Portlock's Voyage*, page 94. Portlock accompanied Cook in this Voyage. See also the General Chart of Cook's three Voyages, constructed by Lieutenant Roberts.

† *Ibid*, and page 20, of the Appendix.

three leagues, less to the westward, and $1^{\circ} 42'$ or thirty-four leagues, less to the northward, than COOK's first position;— $6^{\circ} 10'$, or ninety-five leagues, more to the westward, and $1^{\circ} 2'$, or twenty leagues and two-thirds, less to the northward, than the second;—and $2^{\circ} 48'$, or fifty-six leagues, less to the westward, and $18'$, or six leagues, more to the northward than that of PORTLOCK; and in this position of the SOLIDE, it was remarked that most of the birds which, as I have before said, belong to species that fly no great way from land, came from the western quarter. It may be concluded from these different remarks, that, if, in fact, there exist in this extent of sea some land yet unknown, it must be situated between the parallels of 39° and 41° , in the intervals comprehended either between $160^{\circ} 20'$, and $154^{\circ} 30'$ of west longitude; or between $154^{\circ} 30'$ and $151^{\circ} 40'$; or between $151^{\circ} 40'$ and 145° ; that is, in the intervals which are left between COOK's first track, and that of PORTLOCK, the latter and that of MARCHAND, this last and COOK's second track; perhaps too this supposed land would be met with to the westward of all these tracks, beyond the 60th meridian west from PARIS.

The annual voyage which a galleon has for upwards of a century repeated over and over again from MANILLA to ACAPULCO, would have procured certain information respecting the object of this enquiry, if, every year, varying her route, she

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had traversed different parallels, and had proceeded higher than that of 41° , in order to ascertain whether there do not exist some islands which might afford to shipping, anchorages in case of necessity or accident. But as it would have been difficult for the discoveries which the galleon might have made, to have remained eternally unknown to other nations; and as SPAIN, above all things, dreaded to make known to them islands, which, from their situation, might have afforded a retreat to privateers belonging to the enemy in time of war, and a shelter to smugglers during peace, it is very probable that, if her navigators have ever discovered lands in the sea where, in these latter times, those of other nations have suspected some, she has taken care to consign them again to the oblivion from which chance had drawn them, and has adopted certain measures that, in the sequel, her ships might not make any: in fact, we see that, at the time of the voyage of ANSON, who, in 1743, made himself master of the MANILLA galleon and of the hydrographical chart * which served for directing her route, that ship never advanced higher than the latitude of 34° or 35° north; and, unless circumstances of wind may have sometimes carried her beyond it, she could not well find herself in a situation to meet with the lands of which the voyages of Cook,

* See a copy of this chart in the account of *Anson's Voyage*.

PORTLOCK, and MARCHAND present us the indications, and which, if there exist any, must be situated in a latitude little different from that of 41° : still less could the galleon have seen them, if, as is asserted by Commodore ANSON, who had had an opportunity of knowing, the thirtieth parallel were assigned to the captain of the ship, for the northern limit, but which he was not to pass except in case of being compelled to it by a superior force; therefore, in order to guard more safely against the danger of the galleon making some discovery, she was placed in the impossibility of making any. The Spaniards, frequently rash, always bold, as long as the question was to attempt discoveries which promised great riches, became mysterious through policy, and timid through avarice, as soon as they had acquired the treasures of the world; they buried their discoveries, as the miser buries his gold; and, from the apprehension of sharing them, they preferred not to enjoy them: for near two centuries, they have suffered other nations to glean in the field, where they had been the first to reap a harvest in a favourable season.

Captain MARCHAND, like the navigators who had preceded him in these seas, struck with the numerous indications of land which shewed themselves in the latitude where he was navigating, like them too having to accomplish a determined object, regretted his inability to devote himself to a

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research which promised a great probability of success; and he pursued his course towards the coast of AMERICA.

In the afternoon of the 29th, in latitude $42^{\circ} 40'$, and longitude $150^{\circ} 40'$, the sea being perfectly smooth, the yawl was detached to pick up on the water a plant which appeared to belong to the family of the *fuci*, better known to seamen by the name of *sea-weed*, and, which, at a distance the motion that was given to it by some fishes, which were round about, had occasioned to be taken for a turtle. I shall bring into one, the separate descriptions given of it by Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET.

The length of this plant was thirteen feet and a half, according to the one, and fourteen feet, according to the other; and its circumference, at the thickest extremity, was fifteen inches, according to the former, and eighteen, according to the latter; it gradually diminished throughout its whole length, was reduced to about one inch at the other extremity, and terminated in a point. The thick end, according to Captain CHANAL, was swelled in the shape of a bottle or bladder. Its flexible stem had the form of a hollow bamboo, but without knots; which occasioned it to be called *sea-bamboo*. Its exterior surface, which was smooth and even, was, from one end to the other, covered with small shells of the species of *muscles*, according to the former, of that of *barnacles*, according

cording to the latter, which were attached to it by pedicles of four, five, and even six inches long : these diaphanous pedicles, says Surgeon ROBLET, of a fleshy and elastic consistence, resembled glass-tubes filled with water, and had their transparency : the summit of each pedicle, was terminated by a hinged shell, of the form of a fish's head, composed of *four moveable pieces*, united by a membrane, which pieces contained *a little animal with eight feet*. Surgeon ROBLET, to whom this last part of the description belongs, says that he is ignorant of the name of this animal, but he believes that it is called a *barnacle*.

I think, like our observer, that the shell is, in fact, a *barnacle* or *concha anatifera*, which, in Britany, is called *bernache*, and sometimes *bernicle*; but the little animal with *eight feet* seems not to be the natural inhabitant of the shell : is it an intruder? One of those semi-crustaceous animals, known by the name of *Bernard the Hermit* or the hermit crab, to which Nature has given the instinct of taking refuge in empty shells, sometimes too in zoophites, or in other bodies that it finds suitable for protecting its hind part, which is not covered with scales, from every thing that might injure it ; while its fore part, somewhat like that of the *locusta marina*, and furnished with *ten feet*, issues from the shell in order to seize on the insects which pass within its reach? Surgeon ROBLET counted only *eight feet* on the little animals

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animals which he saw in his barnacles; but it might be supposed that two others remained concealed in the shell: besides, there may and must be varieties in the species; it would, however, be extremely singular if each of the shells, which adhered to the plant by so many pedicles, were inhabited by a hermit crab. On comparing the shell-fish which Surgeon ROBLET observed and described, with that to which naturalists have given the name of *barnacle*, we find the greatest resemblance, between shell and shell, as well from the shape and structure, as in the pedicle, but this is no longer to be found between animal and animal.

According to NEEDHAM, the *barnacle*, that very singular shell-fish, has three different parts; namely, the pedicle which serves as a support to the shell-fish, the shell, and the animal which it contains. It is by one of the extremities of the pedicle, more or less long, more or less broad, that the barnacle adheres to rocks, to ships, and to other foreign bodies. At the upper part of the pedicle, is the shell, composed of five pieces or valves, nearly triangular (and this is what Surgeon ROBLET means to indicate, no doubt, by saying that it has the shape of a fish's head); they are closely united by a thin pedicle which clothes the interior surface: the play which this pedicle leaves to the pieces, *permits them, however, to spread and close in a small degree.* The body of the animal which inhabits

inhabits this shell, is *somewhat like a small oyster*; its head appears furnished with a sort of tuft made in the form of a pledget; this is the assemblage of about twenty little horns or tentacula, which, seen through the microscope, appear fimbriated; when the animal agitates them, they form irregular bends one within another; by agitating them, either without or within its shell, it forms in the water a little current; and, by this mean, it draws, as into a whirlpool, the animalcula on which it subsists. The head, thickly beset with these sorts of horns, can issue out of the shell and return within it *.

It therefore appears that the species of barnacle, which Surgeon ROBLET observed, is inhabited by an animal different from that of the barnacle which naturalists have described; for I do not suppose that he would have given the name of *feet* to those little tentacula or fimbriated horns, and have reckoned but *eight* if they were to the number of *twenty*: besides, the *oyster* is so generally known, that, if the animal, contained in the shell which he examined, had resembled an oyster, he would not have failed to make mention of this resemblance.

I am of opinion that it is to the plant of which our voyagers have given a description, that the editor of the account of ANSON'S voyage has

* See BOMARE'S *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* at the words *Conque Anatifère* and *Bernard P'Hermite*.

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given the name of *sea-leek*, of which it has nearly the form and figure amplified; and this is the name too which has been given to it by Captain COOK, who saw similar plants, nearly in the same latitude where Captain MARCHAND met with it; but neither of the English navigators has given of it a detailed description.

Captain MARCHAND took advantage of the calm which prevailed on the 29th to scrub the ship's bottom between wind and water, where, notwithstanding the copper sheathing, the mofs had adhered, and must, from its resistance, have impeded the vessel's sailing. The spare sails were got on deck to be examined; the sail-makers were employed in repairing some which the rats had damaged, and the ship's company were engaged in the different labours which require stillness and leisure, and charm the idleness of the sailor and the tiresomeness ever inseparable from a calm.

This same day in the afternoon, was seen a whale, and this was the first which had been perceived since the SOLIDE was steering to get into the high latitudes: she had, as I have before said, then arrived between the parallels of 42° and 43° .

The next day, and the following days, were seen other whales and some sea-bamboos; at the same time was seen an innumerable quantity of terns, petrels, *quebranta-buefos*, storm-birds, and other sea-fowl, of various species; large pieces of drift-

wood were very frequently met with; every thing announced that, ere long, land would be perceived; and the result of the observations for the longitude left little doubt of it.

The season was too far advanced in the northern hemisphere, for Captain MARCHAND to think it proper to proceed to the parts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, situated towards the sixtieth parallel, such as PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND, and COOK'S RIVER; he had resolved to make the land about Cape DEL ENGAÑO, remarkable from Mount SAN-JACINTO * which commands it, and to begin his traffic for furs in NORFOLK SOUND, thus named by Captain DIXON, and which must be the BAYA DE GUADALUPA of the Spaniards. From the observations of Captain COOK, Lieutenant KING, and the astronomer BAYLY, in the *Voyage for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* †, Cape DEL ENGAÑO, under the name of Cape EDGECUMBE, is situated in $57^{\circ} 4' 30''$ latitude north, and $138^{\circ} 15' 45''$ longitude west from PARIS.

* In 1778, Captain Cook imposed on *Capo del Engano* and on *Monte San Jacinto*, the names of *Cape Edgcumbe* and *Mount Edgcumbe*. What would geography gain by this change of name? What would the immortal Cook gain by it?

† See *The Original Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage towards the Northern Pacific Ocean, &c.* By W. Bayly, page 349.

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On the 7th of August, at noon, Captain MARCHAND concluded from his own observations and those of Captain CHANAL, that the ship was arrived at the latitude of $57^{\circ} 20'$, and that her longitude must be $139^{\circ} 56'$: the determination of this longitude was the result of the dead reckoning applied to the observations of the moon's distance from the sun made in the course of the day of the 5th, and reduced to the noon of that day *. If this determination were exact, our navigators were, before night, to be in sight of land: they steered the course which this position indicated; and, at half past five o'clock in the afternoon, they had the first view of the coast of AMERICA.

At six o'clock, they discovered Cape DEL ENGAÑO, which bore east $19^{\circ} 30'$ south, at the distance of thirteen or fourteen leagues. The ship was therefore more to the northward than the cape by $13' 30''$, and more to the westward by $1^{\circ} 10' 45''$.

On applying this latter difference to the longitude of Cape DEL ENGAÑO, we find that that of the ship ought, at the moment of taking the bearing, to have been $139^{\circ} 26' 33''$; but, according to the dead reckoning deduced from the result of the observations of the 5th, it was $139^{\circ} 27' 30''$ †: thus the error in the land-fall was only $53''$, or

* See Note XXXVIII.

† See Note XXXIX.

about half a mile, which the ship was supposed to be too much to the westward. This astonishing precision could not have taken place, if, in the interval from the observations of the 5th to the bearing of the 7th, the currents had had an influence on the SOLIDE's course in the direction of the longitude; but their action was directed in a straight line to the northward, and it had produced on the progress in latitude, in the same interval, an error of 26', or twenty-six miles, which the observation of the sun's meridian altitude had corrected.

The error of the longitude which the reckoning indicated on making the land, according to the calculation of the ship's run, deduced from the longitude of the Bay of LA MADRE DE DIOS, was only $1^{\circ} 25'$, or fifteen leagues one third, which she was more to the westward than the true longitude. But this correctness, as may be seen in the *NOTES**, is due only to chance: errors *ahead* counterbalanced a part of the errors *astern*.

Had the SOLIDE been favoured by the winds in this run, the length of which was forty-eight days, she might have terminated it in forty-one or forty-two: for it appears that the longitude of the point of departure, on the 20th of June, and that of the point arrived at, on the 7th of August, differ from each other only about 2 degrees,

* See Note XXXIX.

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the latter of which is less westerly than the former; the passage on a course which would have deviated little from the direction of a meridian, would have been only about thirteen hundred leagues instead of fifteen hundred, which she was forced to run, because having been carried as far as] 13° to the westward of the meridian of her point of departure, she was under the necessity of making amends for this useless progress, and regaining 2° of easting, in order to get under the meridian of the point whence she might get sight of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, where it was intended to touch.

In the course of the run, the currents constantly set to the *Northward* and *Westward*: the differences to the *Southward* and *Eastward* were as uncommon as inconsiderable. In taking a mean term, we may estimate the effect of the movement of the waters during the forty-eight days employed in this run, at two leagues one-tenth in twenty-four hours in the direction of north 30° west.

On the evening of the 7th, the SOLIDE had arrived in sight of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA: but a calm, tiresome from its length, detained the ship off the BAYA DE GUADALUPA, where it was proposed to anchor: sometimes, the tail of a sea-breeze brought her to the entrance of the bay; and on a sudden, the cessation of this breeze, or a land-breeze which sprang up, obliged her to stand to the offing. This situation was

not unlike the punishment of TANTALUS; and the convenience of examining at their ease the shores on which they wished to land, could not compensate our navigators for the disappointments, incessantly reviving, which opposed their reaching their destination. They saw before them very lofty mountains; and on the snow that covered them, were delineated the green-trees with which they are clad to their very summits. The base which bears these mountains, and the small hills which, at certain distances, command it, clothed with verdure, agreeably fix the sight, when the eye, after having, in following the declivity of the snow, raised itself to the height of the clouds, sinks and reposes on those grounds where ancient forests of firs, pines, and other tall trees, grow and rise on the ruins of those which time has reduced to dust. A mild temperature, a serene sky, and a pure air, permitted them, for five days, to contemplate, quite at their leisure, these productions of wild Nature, abandoned to her energy alone: it was not till the morning of the 12th, that it was at length possible to reach the Bay of GUADALUPA, and that the ship could drop anchor there after two hundred and forty-two days navigation from the time of her departure from FRANCE, of which ten only had been spent at anchor, as well in the Bay of LA PRAYA, as in that of LA MADRE DE DIOS.

If we consult the log-book, or if we measure on the chart the distance which the ship ran on the globe,

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globe, from her departure from MARSEILLES till her arrival on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, we find that she made five thousand eight hundred marine leagues, which are equivalent to upwards of four-fifths of the circumference of a great circle of the earth; and that her mean rate of sailing, during this part of the voyage, was twenty-five leagues in twenty-four hours.

Till now the scurvy had not manifested itself on board the SOLIDE; one man only appeared to be attacked by it; but the attack was so slight, that he had not once been prevented from doing his duty, by night as well as by day. Our voyagers had not experienced any of the scourges which, in early times, made EUROPE pay so dear for the discovery of the New World, and justly caused to be considered as destructive to the human species the bold voyages to which we were indebted for our first knowledge of the GREAT OCEAN, and of those islands scattered or assembled in groups, of whose number and origin we are still ignorant. But Surgeon ROBLET observes, that never did officers interest themselves with greater zeal for the preservation of a ship's company, than those of the SOLIDE; that never did any superintend with a more scrupulous and more persevering attention, the wholesomeness of a ship, the cleanliness of the sailors, and the good quality of the provisions. To this unremitting care, was added the frequent use of various refreshments, and anti-scorbutics,

such as cabbages, carrots, turnips, celery, sorrel, and other vegetables, pickled or preserved in vinegar. Water for drinking never ceased to be served out at discretion; and, independently of the drinks in use at sea, almost every day was distributed another beverage made of fermented wort and sugar, which an acidulous taste renders agreeable to seamen, and the excellent effects of which the experience of the long voyages of COOK and LA PÉROUSE had already proved. The good health of the crew rewarded the officers and the owners of the SOLIDE; the former, for their paternal and constant pains to maintain this good state, and the latter, for the expenses which they had generously increased, without consulting their own interest, in order to supply their ship with all the known preservatives that might concur to prevent disease.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Solide put into Dixon's Norfolk Sound, which is the Baya de Guadalupe of the Spaniards.—Transactions and events during her stay in this bay, called by the natives Tchinkitânay.—Traffic for furs.—Description of the bay and its environs.—Terrestrial productions, and animals.—Description of the natives and their dresses.—Population of the bay.—Its inhabitants are acquainted with iron and copper.—Their arts, their industry, their weapons, their tools, their canoes, their habitations, &c.—They appear to have some idea of a Supreme Being.—What opinion may be formed of their government.—Their skill in barter.—Their taste for singing.—Their manners, their customs, their character.—Vocabulary of the language of Tchinkitânay.

BEFORE he stood into the bay where he intended to begin his traffic for furs, Captain MARCHAND had judged that it was prudent to cause the entrance to be visited and to reconnoitre the parts of the coast where it might be hoped that the bottom would afford good anchorage. Captain CHANAL had been charged with this duty, in which he was accompanied by Lieutenant IN-

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FERNET and the first Surgeon ROBLET; and he had taken the bearings and soundings of the bay. At the distance of about four miles to the north-north-east of the cape which terminates to the southward the west coast, and which Captain DIXON called WHITE'S Point, from the name of one of his officers, he had found a cove which afforded, at once, a good anchorage, an easy landing, a rivulet of excellent water, and a convenient watering-place; but he had neither perceived inhabitants nor habitations; he had only discovered, in the environs of the cove, some signs which announced that the natives sometimes formed there temporary establishments. Captain MARCHAND was on the point of relinquishing his project of carrying the ship into the bay, and was already taken up with the idea of standing to some place more to the southward, when some canoes, which had come from the eastern parts to meet the SOLIPE, no longer left any doubt that the bay was inhabited*. The natives, who were in them sold a few bear-skins, and a young sea-otter recently killed: and on the assurance which they gave not to delay bringing furs of every sort, the ship had been taken to the anchorage which had been ex-

* The Editor of *Dixon's Journal* mentions that the first American canoe that came on board, hoisted at the extremity of a long pole a tuft of white feathers, which, at a distance, had been taken for a white flag; he understood this to be an emblem of peace and friendship. (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 180.)

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amined. (The cove in which the anchor had been dropped, is situated on the southern coast of PITT'S Island*, which forms, on the north-west side, DIXON'S NORFOLK SOUND, to which the natives give the name of TCHINKITANAY.

The Americans were faithful to their promise; and they proved that, if the Europeans set so great a value on furs, that they go round the world in order to share these with them, they themselves shew no less eagerness to exchange their superfluous skins for the commodities of EUROPE, with the use and convenience of which they have been made acquainted. Scarcely did the day begin to dawn, when there was seen coming a flotilla of fifteen canoes, containing about a hundred and thirty or a hundred and forty Americans, men, women, and children. They arrived singing; and it was ascertained, in the sequel, that it is among them a constant custom, to begin and terminate by singing, their commercial transactions with strangers. The number of natives, which was considerable in comparison with that of the ship's company, and the knowledge which Captain MARCHAND, from the account of voyagers, had of the propensity of these Americans to theft, and of their singular address in concealing all that they can lay hold of unperceived, determined him not to permit them to come on board: the traffic began between the

* See in the INTRODUCTION *Portlock's Voyage* in 1786-7.

SOLINE's boats and the American canoes. The market was well supplied with various kinds of furs: several otter-skins of all qualities, and other furs of less value, were purchased. The articles which the natives preferred in exchange, were basins, and especially those made of copper, stew-pans, tin sauce-pans, iron pots, daggers, lances, halberts, pikes, and fabres: they set little value on hatchets, saws, two-handled knives, hammers, nails, and other tools or instruments. But our voyagers were ignorant that the articles which, in trafficking with them, obtain the greatest favour, are European clothes of different sorts: none of these had been provided for trade; recourse was had to those which had been reserved for the wants of the crew; and the sort of goods for which the clothes were exchanged, might dispel all uneasiness as to the circumstance that nature and the duration of the voyage would subject the people to the necessity of wearing warm clothing. Clothes were the only effects for which it was possible to obtain the beautiful otter-skins of the first quality. Small knives, coloured glass-beads, rings and metal buttons, and all those European toys, after which, in general, the islanders of the GREAT OCEAN appear so anxious, were hardly accepted as a free gift, or by way of closing a bargain; for the custom of the natives of this part of the coast is to conclude no exchange, without requiring a present, which they call *Stok*: it will be seen that they begin

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to be *europeanised*. They are already partly dressed in the European fashion; most of them had cloth jackets, kersey trowsers, shirts, and in the number of the effects which compose their moveable property, were discovered little boxes made to lock, and various articles which they could not have received but from the inhabitants of the Old World, whose visit had preceded that of the French. Almost all the garments were of English manufacture; but there was reason to presume that some vessel belonging to the UNITED STATES might likewise have traded in TCHINKITANAY Bay or in its vicinity, because there were recognized two copper coins of the province of MASSACHUSETTS which a young man wore as ear-pendants.

The natives with whom the traffic was carried on soon gave the French to understand that the strangers who had preceded them in the bay paid very liberally; and it was no difficult matter to perceive it; for, on offering them together three or four of the principal articles of traffic, they were scarcely satisfied when the question was to barter a skin of the first quality. They examined with the most scrupulous attention, turned about in every way, all that was presented to them, and they knew very well how to discover defects and point them out: on the other hand, they employed art and cunning in setting off their merchandise; and it may be said, that, in respect to interest and traffic, they have already made great strides in civilization,

lization, and that the modern Hebrews would, perhaps, have little to teach them.

The Americans went on shore at one o'clock in the afternoon, and promised to return the following day. In the course of the morning, our traders had procured upwards of two hundred furs, most of them otter and bear skins; but of these could be reckoned but a small number of the prime sort; the remainder consisted of skins of cub otters, or of skins cut in slips which had already been worn as clothing.

Captains MARCHAND and CHANAL and others of the principal officers went on shore in the afternoon. They had ordered the boat's crew to take some arms; but there was no necessity for making use of them; the behaviour of the natives was peaceable and friendly: they even shewed themselves officious, and assisted the sailors in filling a few casks with water: it was not, it is true, without having previously stipulated for the remuneration which should be made to them; but the price of their labour was only a few metal rings. Captain MARCHAND and his party visited the settlements on the west coast which the natives appear never to occupy for a constancy, but merely during the stay which the trading ships make in their bay, and at the time when they are engaged in fishing for their winter stock. As they carry with them all their moveable property, their lances, their darts, their fishing-harpoons, and their

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cooking utensils; they can settle, for a time, wherever any motive determines them to make a halt. One of these temporary residences which the French visited, and which was fixed at the entrance of a wood, consisted of a hut built with a few stakes driven into the ground. The upper end of these stakes, sometimes replaced by war-lances, supports branches of trees, dry or green, laid across, interwoven so as to leave no opening in the middle of the roof, and covered with tanned skins and fir-bark stripped off in large pieces: this paltry shed is scarcely sufficient to shelter them from the rain. The fire is put in the middle, and sometimes on the outside of the hut; and the pots, which had been sold to them in the morning, were already seen in use. Each family occupies one of these retreats; but if the rain be too abundant and the wind too sharp*, two huts are set back to back, and the fire is placed in the middle of the space which they occupy.

Captain MARCHAND, before he stepped into his boat, proposed to one of the Americans to take him on board his ship; they all consented, but on condition that one of the French should be left on shore; and it may be supposed that they manifest no less prudence and finesse in their political conduct, than they had displayed in their concerns in trade: with payments received in hand and host-

* Observations of Roblet.

ages, neither persons nor property can be exposed. They and the French did not part without shewing each other reciprocal marks of friendship; and the Americans gave the latter to understand, that if they could be certain that the ship would stay ten days in the bay, they would go and hunt in the interior of the country, and thence bring back more furs of every species than their visitors would wish to purchase.

The same natives with whom the French had traded on the 13th, came on board the ship on the 14th. The market was not so well supplied as it had been on the preceding day: however, a few prime otter-skins, and several others of less value were purchased. When the traffic was over, the greater part of the canoes returned to the east coast, whence they had been observed to come when the ship appeared at the entrance of the bay: those by whom they were navigated, on taking leave of the French, assured them that they would speedily return with a fresh stock of furs: it is highly probable that they were going to traffic for them among their neighbours, with part of the European commodities which they had received as the price of the former; and, no doubt, they fully intended to make the strangers pay dearly for brokerage and commission.

The traffic continued the following days: a few canoes came from the coast of PITT'S Island, off which the ship was at anchor; others, from the

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east coast or the main land; both were conducted by the same men with whom the French had already traded: on this occasion they obtained several furs, among which were some fine otter-skins that appeared to be those of animals very recently killed. The furriers embarked in the *SOLIDE* were employed in examining all the skins, in beating them in order to free them of dust and vermin, and in dressing those which were still fresh, so as to insure their preservation till the ship's arrival in CHINA. In the mean time, parties were sent on shore to cut wood, and fill water, and all the preparations for sailing were made; while, in repeated excursions, our voyagers acquired respecting the country and the race of men who inhabit it, all the knowledge which the difficulty of making themselves understood by the natives, and the obligation, dictated by a regard for their own safety, of not going too far from the coast, allowed them to procure. As soon as the Americans perceived that the ship was preparing to quit the bay, they displayed all that they had left for sale; but the certainty of her approaching departure could not induce them to lower their price; there reigned among them an understanding that proves either a great habit in barter, or a singular intelligence, which, with them, supplies the place of a long practice in commerce: their obstinacy in not reducing their pretensions, was such, that some of them were seen remaining constantly

for two days together round the ship, with furs which they in the end carried on shore again, because their visitors refused to give the exorbitant price which they had not been ashamed to demand for them.

Captain MARCHAND, on comparing the quantity of furs which he had procured in TCHINKITANAY Bay, with that which Captain DIXON had obtained there, in 1787, found that, without having had equal success, he had no reason to regret the time which he had spent at this anchorage: he judged that he had exhausted all that the bay could furnish, and that a longer stay would not procure an increase of profit which could compensate for the daily expense of the ship.

He had purchased :

100 prime otter-skins, the greater part raw or half dressed ;

250 cub otter-skins of a light colour ;

36 whole bear-skins and 13 half skins ;

A considerable quantity of otter-skins cut into strips, of an inferior quality, the greater part of them much worn, which might be estimated at 150 skins ;

37 seal-skins ;

60 skins of beavers, racoons, and other animals ;

A bag containing a few squirrel-skins and several otters' tails ;

A carpet of marmot or mountain-rat skins.

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Another carpet composed partly of marmot-skins, partly of bear-skins.

The Journal of DIXON's voyage, the only one that we know of till this day, in which mention is made of TCHINKITANAY Bay under the name of NORFOLK Sound, enters not into great details respecting the country and the inhabitants; but that of Captain CHANAL supplies this deficiency to advantage.

Although the tribes disseminated over the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, present themselves with appearances which announce a great affinity between them, although we have already received from Captain COOK notions tolerably extensive concerning a race of men till then unknown to EUROPE, I have thought that a few details concerning a particular tribe, although deprived of the attraction of novelty, attached to a discovery, would not be altogether uninteresting: the observer who introduces, into his inquiry, information already derived from the account of his predecessors, seizes on anecdotes which have escaped a first inspection, shades, which, in a moral as well as in a physical sense, are gradations from one variety to another in the human species.

Every thing leads us to believe that the Spaniards, who, in 1775, discovered Mount SAN JACINTO, and Cape DEL ENGAÑO, named since by Captain COOK Mount EDGECUMBE and Cape

EDGE CUMBE, also discovered TCHINKITANAY Bay, which must be that on which they imposed the name of BAYA DE GUADALUPA: or rather we may say that it is indicated in the Journal of ANTONIO MAURELLE with circumstances which must leave no doubt as to the identity of the two bays *. "On the 17th of August," says the Spanish pilot, "the wind blew moderate from the south, by means of which we entered a bay situated in latitude $57^{\circ} 11'$." I observe that MAURELLE places Cape DEL ENGAÑO in $57^{\circ} 2'$, and if we add thereto 8 or 9 minutes that the head of the bay, which stretches from south to north, is more northerly than the cape, we find, within a minute, the latitude of the bay, such as it is given in the journal. But the description which he gives of the

* See, in the INTRODUCTION, the Voyage of D. Juan de Ayala in 1775, and that of Captain Cook in 1778.

Captain Dixon appears to acknowledge the identity of the bay which he calls *Norfolk Sound*, with that which the Spaniards had named *Baya de Guadalupe*. "Amongst the people who came to trade with us," says the Editor of the voyage, "was an old man who seemed remarkably intelligent: he gave us to understand, that a good while ago there had been two vessels at anchor near this place, one of which was considerably larger than ours; that they carried a great number of guns, and that the people resembled us in colour and dress. He shewed us a white shirt they had given him, and which he seemed to regard as a great curiosity: on examining it, we found it made after the Spanish fashion, and immediately judged these vessels described by this Indian to be the Spaniards who (as I have already related) were on this coast in the year 1775." (*Dixon's Voyage*, pages 182 and 183.)

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BAYA DE GUADALUPA, would dispel every doubt, if its geographical position could leave any. "This bay," adds he, "was three leagues wide at its mouth, and was protected from the north by Cape DEL ENGAÑO. On the side opposite to this cape, we discovered a port more than a league wide at the entrance, perfectly secure from all winds but those which blow from the south."

This is the description of TCHINKITÂNAY Bay; and what MAURELLE calls THE PORT, is, no doubt, the northern part of the bay, a narrow part, enclosed by islands, and which must form a sort of harbour: it neither was visited by the English, nor the French*. By substituting the name of TCHIN-

* On reading *Maurelle's* Journal, we should at first be tempted to think that the entrance of his *Bay de Guadalupe* is situated to the northward of *Cape del Engano*; for it is there mentioned that, on the 16th of August, the Spanish navigators discovered *Cape del Engano*, and that the next day (after having stood to the northward), they entered a bay which received the name of *Guadalupe*; and as, at the same time, *Maurelle* gives for the latitude of *Cape del Engano* $57^{\circ} 2'$, and for that of the bay, $57^{\circ} 11'$; it would appear that the entrance of the bay is situated 9 minutes to the northward of the cape. This first account has deceived some geographers, who have imagined that the Bay of *Guadalupe* must be the *Bay of Islands*, which Captain *Cook* explored to the northward of *Cape del Engano* (his *Cape Edgecumbe*), and which is the *Puerto de los Remedios* of the Spaniards. In order to be convinced that the entrance of the Bay of *Guadalupe*, relatively to the general direction of the coast, is to the southward and not to the northward of *Cape del Engano*, it is sufficient to pay attention to

TCHINKITÂNAY to that of GUADALUPA and to that of NORFOLK, I restore to the bay what belongs to it, the name which it has received from its inhabitants: if we were willing to act in this manner in regard to all the places whose proper names are known, we should preserve the nomenclature of geography, from those variations, annual as it were, which have no other object than to gratify the caprice or the vanity of a navigator.

The plan which is to be seen in the account of DIXON's voyage*, and one drawn by Captain CHANAL, can be exact only for a portion of the west coast of the bay, that which begins at the northern point of the cove where the SOLIDE anchored, and which, passing by the point named by DIXON, WHITE'S Point, is terminated to the

what *Maurelle* says in his description of the bay, that it is *protected from the north* by Cape *del Engaño*: it is therefore to the southward of that cape. But, although the entrance of the bay is to the *southward* of the cape, the head of the bay is more northerly, because it runs from south to north for an extent of 8 or 9 minutes; and it is, no doubt, its northern part, or what he calls *the port*, that he places in $57^{\circ} 11'$, while the entrance is in $57^{\circ} 2'$, that is, in the same latitude as Cape *del Engaño*, which forms this entrance on the western side. This opinion is confirmed by what is related in *Dixon's Journal*, where we see that "the old man," mentioned in the preceding note, in giving them to understand that ships like those belonging to the English had formerly touched at *Tchinkitânay*, "when describing the situation of the above ships, *"always pointed up the sound, to the northward."* (See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 183.)

* *Ibid.* page 184.

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westward by Cape DEL ENGAÑO. At the pitch of this cape or point is a reef, surrounded by a sand-bank, which extends upwards of a mile to the south-east. To the eastward of the extremity of this ledge, and at the distance of a mile and a half, are seen six islots which form a chain in a north and south line; and to the eastward of the chain, is perceived a seventh islot detached from the group. There is a good passage between this chain of islots and the ledge off WHITE'S Point: in the channel there are from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. Captain CHANAL says that the direction of the chain of islots, in regard to the reef, is about two points more to the eastward than it appears in Captain DIXON'S Plan. On ascending from WHITE'S Point towards the north-east, following the direction of this part of the coast, three sandy coves are successively met with; these are separated by rocky points which extend even with the water's edge to some distance from the land, and round which the sea breaks. It is presumed that DIXON anchored in the first cove, where was found from twelve to seven fathoms water, with sometimes a sandy, and sometimes a rocky and gravelly bottom: to anchor here does not appear safe; DIXON had about twenty fathoms of his cable rubbed by the rocks, and, it being thereby rendered unfit for service, he was obliged to condemn it*.

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 192.

In the north cove, which is the third, and in which the French anchored, the lead indicated a fine bottom of black sand; and the depth of water was from eleven to fifteen fathoms to the distance of a mile and a mile and a half from the shore. A sandy and gravelly beach, situated between a rocky point and a rivulet, affords an easy landing. The course for reaching this cove is north, when passing nearly in mid-channel, you have doubled the spit of the reef off WHITE'S Point. You may, without fear, pass between the reef and the six islets, provided you have a steady breeze, or cause your vessel to be towed by boats; for, if you are caught in a calm, you would not have the resource of dropping an anchor; the bottom being rocky. There are twenty fathoms water, on the edge of the reef; and yet the surface of the sea in this part is strewn with marine plants which adhere to the bottom*; of these, are distinguished two species, the *Fucus giganteus* of Mr. BANKS and Dr. SOLANDER, and another, as tall as the former, but which differs from it in other respects. It is not till after you have doubled the reef, that you find a bottom fit for anchoring. The good anchorage is situated a mile, or a little more, from the shore, opposite the mouth of a rivulet, in twelve fathoms, fine black sand. In this position, WHITE'S Point ought to bear south-south-west 2° west, at the distance of three or four miles; the point which, to the

* Observations of Roblet.

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northward, terminates the part occupied by the three coves, north-north-east 5 or 6° north; and Mount SAN JACINTO, west-south-west 2 or 3° west. A ship which occupies this anchorage may dispense with mooring; for the winds from the southward, which could be the only ones to dread, never exercise their violence in the season when traffic can induce vessels to anchor in the bay.

Although the lead indicates a good bottom in the cove where the French anchored, yet it is prudent to buoy up the cables, or at least to keckle them *; for the SOLIDE having examined hers on the second day of her anchoring, they were found damaged in several places; however, on sounding all round the ship, the bottom had proved to be sandy with small pebbles: no doubt, there are rocks under this sand; perhaps too, there exist some scattered pieces which the lead had not met with, when this part of the bay had been sounded.

Water may be conveniently filled at the rivulet in this cove: it is impregnated with a hue of plants and wood, which gives it a reddish colour, capable of disgusting, if it were not known to be light and of a good quality.

† To keckle a cable is to wind old rope round it, leaving a small interval between the turns. This is done to preserve it from being rubbed in foul ground.—*Translator.*

Captain

Captain DIXON has fixed the latitude of the cove where he anchored at $57^{\circ} 3'$ north, and its longitude, west from the meridian of PARIS, at $137^{\circ} 58' 15''$ *. According to the observations of Captains MARCHAND and CHANAL, the anchorage of the French, a little more to the northward than that of the English, is situated in latitude $57^{\circ} 4'$, and longitude $137^{\circ} 59'$. In 1787, DIXON had found the variation of the magnetic needle 24° towards the east; in 1791, it was observed to be $28^{\circ} 45'$.

The time of high water, on the full and change days, appears not to have been known either by the English or the French; Captain CHANAL says only that, three days before the full moon, it was high sea on the coast of the cove where the SOLIDE lay, at half past three o'clock in the afternoon; and that, two days prior to the same phases, he observed that it was low water at ten o'clock in the morning; but that, at three quarters past ten, the change of the tide had been felt at the place where the ship lay at anchor.

The north and north-east parts of the bay present several islands in front of the main land; and between the mountains are perceived two large breaks: it seems likely that it is by one of these outlets, and probably by the one to the westward, that the channel which separates from the continent PITT's Island, explored by PORTLOCK's boat in

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 184.

1787, opens into the bay; and it might be supposed that the other, that to the eastward, is the entrance of a channel of communication with Port BANKS, discovered, in that same year, by Captain DIXON*, and situated to the south-east of TCHINKITANAY Bay: this communication would make a large island of all the high lands which appear in the eastern part of the bay.

If it were discovered, in the sequel, that the east coast which is not yet known, affords any good anchorage, it would deserve a preference over those to the westward; for it has been seen that the natives inhabit the east coast: it is from this quarter that they came; it is to this quarter that they always returned, in order to supply, by hunting, the place of the furs which they had bartered. It would be the more advantageous to be certain of a shelter on the east coast, as it may be presumed that this bay will long be frequented by Europeans; unless a too great concurrence, by exciting extraordinary efforts on the part of the natives, for increasing the produce of their chase, should bring on the destruction, or at least occasion a scarcity, of the animals whose furs support a lucrative commerce. If, as may be expected, this chief source of profit should shortly experience a sensible diminution, whale-fishing to which a ship's company may devote themselves, without going

* See in the INTRODUCTION, *Portlock's* and *Dixon's Voyages*, 1786 and 1787.

out of the bay, presents to commercial industry, an indemnification which might be sufficient to cover the expenses of an expedition ; but this would be going very far to seek a profit which may be procured at shorter distances, and which, no doubt, would compensate for the length and the risks of the undertaking.

TCHINKITÂNAY Bay is sheltered on all sides by high mountains ; and it is probable that the snow which covers their ridges, never melts ; at the period when the *SOLIDE* anchored here, the parching heats of the dog-days, and a rain which never ceased to fall during her stay, had not been able to make it disappear entirely ; there still remained a good deal on the most elevated mountains which, however, are clothed with trees to their very summit. A snow that withstands the ardent rays of the summer suns, and the fall of the waters ; a monotonous forest, the limits of which the eye cannot reach, and which loses itself in the heart of the country ; mountains whose summits are enveloped by clouds the course of which they suspend—every thing announces that, in this climate, the reign of winter is long and rigorous : but man, the only living being in nature that alike resists the burning heats of the line and the frozen blasts of the pole, here braves the hoary frost and the snow, like the wild animal whose skin he appropriates to himself by his strength or dexterity.

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The environs of TCHINKITÂNAY Bay present not, however, that hideous aspect of some countries, situated in a less elevated latitude: the fertility of the earth indicates that Nature, less abandoned to herself, would here repay the care of culture. Firs, pines, and birch-trees compose that vast forest, which extends from the borders of the sea to the very summit of the hills and mountains; but those which have fallen through age, and the moss of which covers the trunks consumed by time; the parasitical plants which obstruct the intervals between the trees; all the ruins of the terrestrial productions, render it impossible for a stranger to penetrate into the thick woods, where, no doubt, the natives have contrived to clear for themselves interior paths, which may facilitate their marches in the war that they have declared against the animals which dispute with them their solitude.

Shrubs and plants appear not to be very numerous. The raspberry-bush is common; its fruit, which is watery and of a wild taste, is large and plump. According to Captain DIXON's Journal, great quantities of the witch-hazel are here met with. Surgeon ROBLET mentions it only under the name of *coudrier*. Of two other shrubs, with the species of which he was unacquainted, the one bears a small black fruit, like the black currant which we call *cacis* (*ribes nigrum*); its fruit is watery, acidulous, and has not an agreeable flavour. The latter, somewhat different from the former,

former, produces a small red fruit, or berry, the substance of which is mucilaginous, and the number of its stones variable from ten to fourteen. Surgeon ROULET, from whom I borrow these descriptions, says, that he knows not what could have determined the English navigators to give to this latter shrub the name of *currant-tree* *, since neither the leaf, nor the fruit which is always insulated, and never in a cluster, nor the taste, can be compared to that of the shrub which, in EUROPE, bears this name. "The fruit of this shrub," says he, "must not be confounded with an oblong fruit which grows on a plant, and not on a shrub: the latter, by its form, resembles that of the cornel-tree; but it has no stone, and is not good to be eaten." Here are also found the strawberry-plant and several species of ferns: it is well known that in NEW ZEALAND, and in some other countries where culture has not multiplied the productions of the earth fit for the nourishment of man, the tender root of this latter plant is employed as food.

Most of the plants were still in flower, and others were already grown up. Among those which were seen in flower, two were distinguished; a species of lily of the valley (*lilium convallium*)

* The Editor of *Dixon's voyage* contents himself with applying the names of *wild gooseberry* and *wild currant-trees* to two shrubs which the English saw at *Norfolk Sound*; but he gives no description of their fruit. (See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 185.)

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whose flower is blue, and larger than our common lily; and another plant, the stem of which, two or three feet high, bears, at the height of about eight inches, blue flowers.

On the shore was seen a small space sown with peas, which appeared to be two months old: their taste was a little bitter; but this might be attributed to their stems being choaked with weeds. It remains, methinks, to be known whether this plant be indigenous. The Europeans who touched at TCHINKITÂNAY before Captain MARCHAND, may have there sown some peas: however, as, in the sequel, this plant was found in great quantities on one of the QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, and in the parts where we are almost certain that the French were the first who landed, we revert to the idea that it may be indigenous in this part of NORTH AMERICA.

"I did not," says Surgeon ROBLET, "find the
"plant which DIXON calls *wild celery*; or, if that
"which was presented to me as celery, be the
"same as that to which he applies that name, I
"neither recognized it in the leaf, nor the root of
"our *ache* or wild celery, still less a flavour that
"could remind me of it even in a slight degree.
"In this uncertainty, I durst not recommend the
"use of it to the SOLIDE's crew, nor that of
"another plant which bears some resemblance to
"our parsley, but the stem of which is much
"thicker. If our people," adds he, "had been
"attacked

" attacked by the scurvy, and the use of vegetables been commanded by urgent necessity, I should have thought I might trust something to chance; but the good health which they enjoyed made it my duty to be more cautious."

Captain CHANAL partook not of the fears of Surgeon ROBLET; he ate twice, by way of salad, and in a pretty large quantity, of the species of plant which was taken for wild celery, and he was not incommoded by it. As for the parsley, it appears by DIXON's Journal, that that commander caused great quantities of it to be gathered, that he found it excellent eating, either as a salad, or boiled with soup*; and he felt no inconvenience.

I have thought proper to oppose these two examples to the opinion of Surgeon ROBLET. I am very far from blaming his prudence: but as vegetables, and particularly wild celery, are a specific preservative against the sea-scurvy, at the same time that they are a powerful cure for men who are attacked by it, it was incumbent on me to guard seamen against the impression which might be made on them, and justly too, by the doubts and authority of an enlightened observer, of an officer of health who unites experience to the theory of his art; it was incumbent on me to prove to them, by the trial made of it by two navigators whose

* See Dixon's *Voyage*, page 185.

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testimony commands confidence, that they might eat with safety the wild celery and the parsley which the soil of TCHINKITÂNAY produces, and which must likewise be found on the other parts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA.

According to the account of Surgeon ROBLET, all the open spots produce in abundance a gramineous plant, the stem and ear of which resemble those of the rye of EUROPE ; but the grain of it was not ripe, and he could not determine to what species it belongs. " I am at least assured," says he, that this plant was not brought from EUROPE ; it is so multiplied that it cannot but be indigenous : and, no doubt, the labour of man and constant culture might improve it, and render its grain fit to become an article of food."

Most of the other plants that are met with on the coast, or on the skirts of the woods, differ not from those which FRANCE reckons among her indigenous plants.

Captain MARCHAND, who wished to leave on this land an European favour, intended to sow here some seeds of our esculent vegetables, such as those of cucumbers, peas, French beans, &c. ; but he found that the season was too far advanced to afford him the hope that these legumes would arrive at maturity that year ; and, supposing that the seeds had come up, rottenness would speedily

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have destroyed the plants, if it had not beforehand destroyed the sprouts.

The only quadruped that our voyagers saw alive, is the domestic dog. It is of the race of the *shepherd's dog*; but his hair is longer and softer. His feet are extremely large; the tail is bushy, the muzzle long and pointed, the ear erect, the eye sharp, the body thick; and his height may be about eighteen inches. He barks little, and appears timid with strangers. He welcomes and caresses his master, but caresses him alone. The Tchinkitanayans boast much of the attachment, the intelligence, and the courage of this animal, excellent for the chase, and bold in the water. Surgeon ROULET remarks, however, that a young dog which he had purchased, on seeing from the ship some Americans on the shore, at a very little distance from the SOLIDE, never durst jump into the water, although, by his motions, he manifested the greatest eagerness to go and join them. It is probable that, at TCHINKITÂNAY, as elsewhere, the dog, in order to exercise the plenitude of his faculties, requires that man, whose companion and friend he is, should have improved them in him by education: the reason of the one makes the instinct of the other serve for their mutual wants and pleasures.

The sea-otter cannot be classed among terrestrial animals, although it inhabits the land much more

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* BUFFON. *Histoire naturelle*, article de la
† *Novi Commentarii*

more than the water; it belongs to the class of amphibious animals; however, the *foramen ovale* is not open, and the communication of the *vena cava* to the *aorta*, by the partition of the heart, not subsisting in this animal, respiration, and consequently the motion of the lungs, is necessary to it for maintaining the circulation of the blood; it cannot make a long stay under water; it is obliged to return to the surface or to land, in order to breathe fresh air, without which it would be suffocated.

According to BUFFON*, who supports himself by the testimony of STELLER, the flesh of the females big with young, or ready to bring forth, is fat and tender; that of the cubs is tolerably delicate, and somewhat like that of the lamb; but the flesh of the old ones is generally very tough. "It was," says STELLER, who was embarked in the ship of the celebrated BEERING, when that navigator was cast away on the island which bears his name, "it was our principal nourishment during our long stay on that island; it did us no harm, although eaten alone and without bread, and frequently half raw; the liver, the kidneys, and the heart are absolutely similar to those of the calf †."

* BUFFON. *Hist. Nat. Supp. à l'Histoire des animaux quadrupèdes*, article de la *Saricovienne*.

† *Novi Commentarii Academia Petropol.* vol. ii. year 1751.

From this proof, we may conclude that, if the Russians, to whom this was a new kind of food, were able to subsist on otter a whole winter, without being inconvenienced by it, that animal affords to the Tchinkitanayans who, from their infancy, may be accustomed to live on it, an additional and, we may say, an inexhaustible resource for their subsistence.

A young otter alive was brought on board of the SOLIDE; several persons ate of it by way of trial; and, according to the account of Captain CHANAL, its flesh was found insipid, but without any bad taste that could cause it to be rejected.

Of all the furs that commerce can draw from the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, the skins of the sea-otter being the most valuable, because they are most in request among the Chinese, whose fancy, according to their beauty, raises them to exorbitant prices*, it will not be useless for the information of our navigators, to whom the direction of this new traffic is reserved, to describe these furs at some length: this description will enable them to distinguish the prime skins, those which, in the markets of CHINA, yield the most considerable profit; and I borrow it from the French PLINY.

* *M. Pallas* says that, at *Kiatcha*, the old and middle-aged sea-otter skins are sold to the Chinese per skin from 80 to 100 roubles, and the worst sort from 30 to 40. — (*Account of the Russian Discoveries*, &c. by W. Coxe, 4to, page 13.)

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" The skin of the sea-otter, or *faricovienne*,
" makes a very beautiful fur; the Chinese pur-
" chase almost all of them (we are here speaking
" of the trade which the Russians carry on in them
" with CHINA); they even pay for them as
" much as seventy, eighty, and a hundred rubles *
" each; and it is on that account that very few
" of them reach RUSSIA. The beauty of these
" furs varies according to the season; the best
" and handsomest are those of the sea-otters killed
" in the months of March, April, and May: never-
" theless, these furs have the inconvenience of
" being thick and heavy; but for this, they
" would be superior to the fables, the most beau-
" tiful of which are not of so fine a black. It
" must not, however, be imagined, that the hair of
" sea-otters is equally black in every individual;
" for there are some whose colour is brownish,
" like that of the river-otter; some, which are
" of a silvery colour on the head; several, which
" have the head, the chin, and the throat varie-
" gated with long hairs very white and very soft;
" lastly, others which have the throat yellowish,
" and which have rather a felt, curling, brown and
" short, on the body, than a real hair fit for fur:
" however, the brown or black hairs are so only
" for half of their length: all of them are white

* A ruble is about four shillings and sixpence sterling.

" at their root *, and their length is, on the
 " whole, about an inch or an inch and a half on
 " the back, the tail, and the sides of the body ; they
 " are shorter on the head and members ; but be-
 " neath this first long hair, there is, as in sea-
 " bears, a species of down or felt, which is of
 " a brown or black colour, like the extremity of
 " the long hairs of the body. The skins of the
 " females are easily distinguished from those of
 " the males, because they are smaller, blacker,
 " and the hair is longer under the belly. The
 " cubs, when quite young, have likewise black
 " or dark brown, and very long hair : but, at the
 " age of five or six months, they lose this fine
 " hair ; and, at a year old, they are covered
 " only with their felt ; and they are not again
 " clothed with this long hair till the following
 " year. The grown otters shed their coat, in a
 " manner different from other animals ; a few
 " hairs fall in the months of July and August ;
 " and the others then assume a colour somewhat
 " brown. Sea-otters are commonly about two
 " feet ten inches in length †, from the tip of

* If the use of these furs should happen to be established in
Europe, this particularity of the whiteness of the hairs at their
 roots, whatever their colour may be in other respects, will
 secure purchasers from the fraud of furriers who might wish to
 give to the hair of the sea otter, by means of dying, a colour
 that is not natural to it.

† It is probable that *Steller* gives this measure in Russian feet.

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"the muzzle to the origin of the tail, which is
 "about twelve or thirteen inches long; their
 "weight is from seventy to eighty pounds *."

Surgeon ROULET affirms that the description which BUFFON, from the account of STELLER, has given us of the sea-otter, is very exact; he merely observes that the otter of TCHINKITANAY is larger than that of BEERING'S Island which the Russian doctor had described; it is commonly three feet and upwards in length before it is stretched; he thinks that the difference of the colour indicates the difference of the sexes; he grounds his opinion on the circumstance of an individual, which he found to be a female, being entirely black; and he concludes that those whose skins are less so, are males; he adds that the latter are the larger.

"It might have been sufficient," says Captain COOK, "to have mentioned that the sea-otter
 "abounds here (at NOOTKA), as it is fully described
 "in different books, taken from the accounts of
 "the Russian adventurers in their expeditions
 "eastward from KAMTSCHATKA, if there had
 "not been a small difference in one that we saw.
 "We, for some time, entertained doubts, whether
 "the many skins which the natives brought, really
 "belonged to this animal; as our only reason
 "for being of that opinion, was founded on the

* Buffon, Hist. Nat. loco citato.

" size, colour, and fineness of the fur ; till a short
 " while before our departure, when a whole
 " one, that had been just killed, was purchased
 " from some strangers who came to barter ; and
 " of this Mr. WEBBER made a drawing. It was
 " rather young, weighing only twenty-five pounds,
 " of a shining or glossy black colour ; but many
 " of the hairs being tipped with white, gave it a
 " grayish cast at first sight. The face, throat and
 " breast were of a yellowish white, or very light
 " brown colour, which, in many of the skins, ex-
 " tended the whole length of the belly. It had
 " six cutting teeth in each jaw ; two of those of
 " the lower jaw being very minute, and placed
 " without, at the base of the two middle ones.
 " In these circumstances, it seems to disagree with
 " those found by the Russians ; and also in not
 " having the outer toes of the hind feet skirted
 " with a membrane. There seemed also a greater
 " variety in the colour of the skins than is men-
 " tioned by the describers of the Russian sea-
 " otters. These changes of colour certainly take
 " place at the different gradations of life. The
 " very young ones had brown hair, which was
 " coarse, with very little fur underneath ; but
 " those of the size of the entire animal, which
 " came into our possession, and just described, had
 " a considerable quantity of that substance ; and
 " both, in that colour and state, the sea-otters seem
 " to remain, till they have attained their full
 " growth.

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" growth. After that, they lose the black colour, and assume a deep brown or footy colour; but have then a greater quantity of very fine fur, and scarcely any long hairs. Others, which we suspected to be still older, were of a chefnut brown; and a few skins were seen that had even acquired a perfectly yellow colour. The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any others we know of; and, therefore, the discovery of this part of the continent of NORTH AMERICA, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference *."

It was incumbent on me to make known with some detail an animal whose valuable skin is the principal object of barter that attracts Europeans to the NORTH-WEST coast of the New Continent, and insures them great advantages in their trade with CHINA, when prohibition does not prevent its entrance by the southern ports of that empire. The other animals which are to be met with at TCHINKITANAY and in its environs, are already known by the enumeration that I have given of the different furs in which the natives trade, and which Captain MARCHAND had procured by traffic; almost all were skins of bears, otters, and cub otters; he obtained only a very small number

* *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. ii. pages 295 and 296.

of beaver skins, none of foxes, but some of a species of rats, which might have been taken for sable skins, if the furriers embarked on board the SOLIDE had not decided to the contrary. To these animals, to which we must join the vison, which might be the quadruped taken for the sable, let us add the squirrel and the marmot; and we shall then know all the quadrupeds of TCHINKITÂNAY.

We have few remarks to make concerning the feathered race; of birds, the species are not numerous. The sea-fowl, which frequent the bay, are the gull, a species of mew, and a diver which appears to be a shore-bird: in the offing, were-seen some albatrosses. The shore and pond birds are a species of goose entirely black, different from that of our climates, its head being smaller, its neck more slender and a little longer: a duck, smaller than our common duck, having on the wings white spots more strikingly marked, and the bill a little shorter; herons quite black, and so wild that it was never possible to approach one of them near enough to shoot at it; lastly, sea-larks, but few in number. Land-birds are still less numerous: Surgeon ROBLET tells us, that, during his stay, he saw only two vultures, a dozen of ravens, some greenfinches, and two wrens: to these Captain CHANAL adds a few eagles. We must, doubtless, not be astonished, that, in countries where the winter is long and severe, and where the soil

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soil affords little grain, the granivorous species forsake a land which refuses them subsistence: those birds alone can be invited thither, which, carnivorous like man, are certain of living at discretion on the remains of the animals that he has destroyed for his necessities.

The sea and the rivers afford abundant resources for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and for that of the crews of the ships which trade may attract to the bay. At low water, muscles, limpets, and other shell-fish * may be picked up on the rocks; however, these are scarce on the west shore, the only one which, as yet, the Europeans have frequented, because the natives carry them away in order to live on them during the stay which they make on that coast. But the sea, and especially the rivers, abound with excellent fish: the river where the SOLIDE watered, yields salmon which ascend it with the tide; a species of trout †, the flesh of which is flabby; and a fish, to which the sailors gave the name of *poisson-chameau* (camel-fish); because, like that quadruped, it has a bunch on the back; it is of the size of the salmon, but flatter, and its flesh is not so good to the taste: on board the ship were caught, with hook and line, various ground-fish, all of a very good quality;

* "There are great quantities of muscles in some parts of the sound, together with a few crabs, star-fish, &c." (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 186.)

† Observations of Roblet.

soles; a small plaice of an excellent taste; the *scorpana* common on the coasts of the MEDITERRANEAN, the gills, the spine of the back, and all the fins of which are armed with sharp prickles that make very painful wounds in the imprudent hand of him who lays hold of them; another species of red fish, with scales like the *scorpana* of which it appears to be only a variety, for its four fins are placed in the same manner, and its head, thick and flat-nosed, is scattered over with rugosities, but it differs from it in colour and shape. An attempt was made to use the trawl in the bay; but it was not possible to drag it; the bottom, being too hard, opposed an insurmountable resistance, and nothing was taken. A boat, sent to the south point of the anchorage which the SOLIDE occupied, caught several pounds of excellent rock-fish: a little time was devoted to these trials, through curiosity, and not through want: the ship's company might have lived comfortably on the produce of their fishing-lines; and, besides, the Americans disposed of fish of every species at so cheap a rate, and in such great abundance, that the sailors employed themselves in procuring it personally only by way of pastime.

It appears that Captain DIXON, who had put into this bay towards the end of June, did not find there the same resources.

"The inhabitants," says the Editor of his Journal, "frequently caught halibut, and we saw large quantities

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“ quantities of salmon frequently hung up on shore
 “ to dry; but they were not willing to sell it,
 “ which shews that fish is a principal and favou-
 “ rite article of food here: we indeed purchased
 “ a few salmon, but they were of a very inferior
 “ kind to those we met with in Cook's River.
 “ Fish, however, being the only fresh provision in
 “ our power to obtain, our whale-boat was fre-
 “ quently sent out with six hands to catch fish for
 “ the ship's company; they were always tolerably
 “ successful, catching great numbers of fine rock-
 “ fish, and some hake*, but very few halibut †.

The difficulty experienced by DIXON in prevail-
 ing on the natives to dispose of their fish to him,
 might depend on the season, which, perhaps, was
 the period when they dry it for their winter-stock.
 We are certain from the account of Captain
 CHANAL, and from that of Surgeon ROBLET,
 that fish is not the only food of the Tchinkita-
 nayans, and that they consume, for their sub-
 sistence, legumes, the berries of several shrubs,
 some wild fruits, and a part of the flesh of the

* According to *Linnaeus*, the hake or *gadus* is the fourth
 genus of the class of the *pisces jugulares*, the character of
 which is to have the pectoral fins terminated in a point, and
 seven rays to the membrane of the gills; the body elongated,
 and the head cuneiform.

This genus comprehends sixteen species, the character of
 one of which is to have *two dorsal fins*; and this species includes
 the hake, the ling, the eel-pout, and the whistle-fish.

† *Dixon's Voyage*, page 185.

animals

animals which they kill in order to have their skin. It is known that the paws of bears are tolerably delicate eating; and we read in the accounts of Travels to the North, that people eat the flesh of the young cubs, and even that of the bears when they are not too old: that of the sea-otter may, probably, not be the most delicate of dishes; but the experience of the Russians in their first voyages for the discovery of the west coast of NORTH AMERICA, has proved that it is not a noxious aliment; and the great multiplication of this animal on the NORTH-WEST coast, must dispel all apprehension respecting the means of subsistence which the country may afford to its inconsiderable number of inhabitants.

Our voyagers had little time for employing themselves in the search of the marine productions that may be met with in TCHINKITANAY Bay; but there are some which are particularly remarkable, command attention, and invite the observer to examine them. Such is a species of *fucus* that grows on the reefs in the bay, and attains a length in comparison to which the height of the tallest trees is no more than that of a shrub.

According to the measures taken or estimated by Surgeon ROBLET, the length of this *fucus* is about seventy-four fathoms, or three hundred and seventy (French) feet, exclusive of that of the leaves which crown its summit, and most of which are twenty and even thirty feet long; this carries the
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total length of the plant to four hundred feet. Its root is composed of an infinite number of filaments interwoven with each other, and slightly adherent to the superficies of the living rock: these roots, which serve as a retreat to an innumerable multitude of small sea-insects, give birth to a stem which is not more than four lines in diameter at its origin, but which imperceptibly grows thicker, as it runs from its roots, so that it attains a thickness of seven inches in diameter at its summit, which terminates in a ball surmounted by a tuft of leaves of great length. The substance of this plant is viscous, and dissolves in water when it has been set to dry. Its stem, of a semi-transparent horn colour, is elastic, and has the effect of a spring, if compressed between the finger and the thumb; throughout its whole length, it neither has knots nor branches; and the tube which occupies its centre is entirely free, and contains no water.

It will not be matter of astonishment that Surgeon ROBLET should have assigned to this plant about four hundred feet in length, including the leaves of its summit, when it is known that it grows on reefs or rocks, over which the lead finds thirty fathoms or one hundred and fifty (French) feet water; that it cannot rise perpendicularly from the bottom, because it is forced to take the inclination given it by the swiftness of the stream, or the motion which the tides communicate to the

the mafs of the waters which it traverses; and that at length having reached the furface of the fea, by afcending obliquely, it there winds over a long fpace, which may, in a ftraight line, be eftimated at about forty-four fathoms or two hundred and twenty (French) feet.

“ But a fingularity which deferves to be mentioned,” fays Surgeon ROBLET, is that each plant grows by itfelf, I mean that it is fingle on its bafe. I alfo remarked that although thefe *fuci* are very near other tall plants, which I take to be the *fucus giganteus* of Mr. BANKS and Dr. SOLANDER, thefe two fpecies do not grow promifcuoufly; the places whence rife the *fucus* of which I have given the defcription, are feparated by fmall intervals, places where grows the *giganteus*. I would not, however, affirm that this difpofition is the fame wherever thefe two plants are met with; and it might happen that what I faw at TCHINKITÂNAY may appear no more than an exception to other obfervers who may obferve better, and on a more enlarged fcale than I was able to do on an extent of fea which is but three or four leagues.”

The *fucus giganteus*, or at leaft that which Surgeon ROBLET took for this plant, becaufe he faw fome like it off the Strait of MAGELLAN and STATEN LAND; where Meffrs. BANKS and SOLANDER had likewise met with that of which they have fpooken, and on which they have impofed the

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the characteristic epithet of *giganteus*, that *fucus*, I say, which is found also in TCHINKITÂNAY Bay, is not less in length than that of which the description has just been given; it differs from it, however, by its bearing, at certain distances, branches charged with notched leaves, the uneven surface of which presents furrows, depressions, and asperities, and which are not so long as the leaves of the ball by which the smooth and uninterrupted tube of the former is terminated: each of the branches too of the *giganteus* is ramified; each ramification is terminated by a piriform tube, filled with air, which helps to float the branch to which it is adherent; and altogether to buoy up the long part of the plant which exceeds the height of the water, and winds on its surface. The substance of both of these *fuci* is of a specific gravity greater than that of the fluid; they sink in it, when they are cut into pieces.

Besides these tall *fuci*, unknown in the European seas, there are found on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, the *alga marina*, and several plants which the sea throws on our coasts.

I have sketched TCHINKITÂNAY Bay as it may be described from the account of our voyagers, who had not leisure to examine its circumference minutely; I have indicated the vegetable productions which the land and the sea present in their different kinds; I have spoken of the birds, of the fishes, of the quadrupeds which were seen

alive or entire, and of those which could be known only by their skin: it remains for me to paint the men such as they were seen, in a physical sense; and, in a moral one, such as they could be divined.

The natives who occupy the environs of TCHINKITANAY Bay are of a stature below the middle size; none of five feet four inches (French) are to be seen: their body is thick, but tolerably well-proportioned; their round and flat face, is not set off by their snub but sharp nose, little watery eyes, sunk in the head, and prominent cheek-bones. It is no easy matter to determine the colour of their complexion; it might be imagined to be red or light brown, but a coat of natural dirt, thickened by a foreign mixture of red and black substances with which they smear their visage, suffers no remnant of their primitive skin to be discovered. The coloured strokes which they trace on their face, present not all the same design*; but all equally add to their natural ugliness. Their coarse, thick hair, covered with ochre, down of birds, and all the filth which neglect and time have accumulated in it, contributes to render their aspect still more hideous. They wear their beard only at a certain age; the youths carefully eradicate it: adults suffer it to grow: and it is at this day well proved, by the unanimous account of the different voy-

* Observations of Roblet.

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agers who have visited the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, that all the Americans have a beard, in contradiction to the opinion of some of the learned, who have refused it to the men of the New World, and wished to make of this want of hair a variety in the human species. It is probable that the face of those at TCHINKITÂNAY Bay would be less disgusting, if they preserved that which nature has given them; for the young boys have an agreeable, and even an interesting countenance; but age and still more the trouble which they take to make themselves ugly by wishing to embellish themselves, end in giving them hard, coarse, and even ferocious features: Surgeon ROBLET attributes their air of ferocity to the frequent expression of the passions by which they are agitated. (Tattooing is little in use among the Tchinkitanayans; a few men only are tattooed on the hands, and on the legs below the knee; almost all the women are tattooed on the same parts of the body.

The women, more fair, or less dark than the men, are still more ugly: a big and clumsy head; a circular face; a nose squeezed in about the middle of its length; eyes small and inanimate; cheek-bones very prominent; hair, or rather a mane, thick, bushy and coarse, tied behind with strips of leather, either in the form of a cue or a club; the shoulders strong and broad; the neck low, tolerably firm and well rounded in those

who are not sixteen, but extremely flabby and pendent in those who have suckled; a waist short and thick; knees and feet turned in, subject to strike against each other in walking; and to complete the whole, a filthiness truly disgusting. Most assuredly, if we place this portrait by the side of that of one of those women whom nature has appeared to take a delight in forming on the islands scattered in the middle of the GREAT OCEAN, that of a female Taheitean or Mendoçan, we shall stand in need of reflection, not to believe that these two individuals belong to two different species:

*" L'un ressemble à la nuit, comme l'autre au beau jour *."*

VOLTAIRE.

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The women of TCHINKITÂNAY have thought proper to add to their natural ugliness, by the use of a lip-ornament, no less whimsical than inconvenient. The people, belonging to Cook's ship, who first perceived females decked with this ornament, reported to their captain that they had seen women *with two mouths*: and, in fact, they have very much that appearance. In order to procure them a charm from which, no doubt, they expect complete success, since, to obtain it, they submit to suffer for a long time, a longitudinal slit, parallel to the mouth, is made about

* One like the night, the other like the day.

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* This ornament, however, not previously found in use, was made of their coral, and their infancy, and themselves with inserted at the age of puberty, the length of a finger, that it held of its own their cheeks. It was a variation as the lip of mind of two different served as a model of position, which fear

six lines below their under lip; in this is first inserted a skewer of iron or wood, and the bulk of this foreign substance is increased gradually, and from time to time, according to the progress of age; at length means are found to introduce into it a piece of wood neatly wrought, the shape and size of which are nearly those of the bowl of a table-spoon. The effect of this ornament is to depress, by the weight of its projecting part, the under lip on the chin, to develop the charms of a large gaping mouth, which assumes the shape of that of an oven, and to expose to full view a set of yellow and dirty teeth. As this machine is removed and replaced at pleasure, when it is taken away, the transversal slit of the lip presents a second mouth, which, from its aperture, is not inferior in size to the natural mouth: and, in some women, it is upwards of three inches in length *.

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* This ornament, as whimsical as it must be inconvenient, is, however, not peculiar to the *north-west coast of America*; it was found in use among the Brazilians, when the discovery was made of their country. They pierced their under lip from their infancy, and, at that tender age, they contented themselves with inserting there a little bone as white as ivory; but, at the age of puberty, they introduced into it a stone of the length of a finger, which they incrustated in such a manner that it held of its own accord: some enchaſed these even into their cheeks. It is astonishing that so extraordinary a decoration as the lip ornament, should have presented itself to the mind of two different nations, one of which could not have served as a model to the other, to judge from their distant position, which scarcely allow us to suppose that they can have

The men do not allow themselves to make use of this ornament; it is the exclusive attribute of the fair sex. According to the Editor of DIXON's Journal, "this curious operation of cutting the under lip of the females, never takes place during their infancy; but," says this writer, "from every observation I was able to make, seems confined to a peculiar period of life. When the girls arrive to the age of fourteen or fifteen," continues he, "the centre of the under lip, in the thick part near the mouth, is simply perforated, and a piece of copper wire introduced to prevent the aperture from closing; the aperture afterwards is lengthened, from time to time, in a line parallel with the mouth; and the wooden ornaments are enlarged in proportion, till they are frequently increased to three, or even four inches in length, and nearly as wide; but this generally happens, when the matron is advanced in years, and consequently the muscles are relaxed; so that, possibly, old age may obtain greater respect from this very

had a communication with each other. It is not known whether it have been introduced into other parts of the continent. The tribes of the *north-west* coast, as is seen, improve considerably on the Brazilians; it may be said that they exaggerate the fashion.

This fashion appears general on the coast, between the fiftieth and sixtieth parallels, with this difference, that, in the most northern parts, the men alone wear the lip-ornament, and that, in the southern parts, it is reserved for the women.

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"singular ornament *." Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET do not agree with the Editor of DIXON'S voyage as to the period at which the women can aspire to the privilege of wearing the lip-ornament: they say that the operation is begun from the most tender infancy; and they saw girls at the breast who already had their lip slit, and adorned with a wooden skewer. But it is possible that these voyagers may not be at variance: the acquaintance which the women of TCHINKITÂNAY have made with Europeans, must have improved among them the art of pleasing; and, perhaps, since DIXON quitted them, they have decided that they could not, too early in life, cause all their sex to enjoy an ornament that embellishes the attractions which Nature has so prodigally dealt out to them.

As youth always inspires interest and indulgence, the French voyagers assert that the young girls are neither so ugly nor so disgusting as the women; yet they acknowledge, that they saw not a single one who was tolerably pretty: we must believe seamen, without hesitation, when they say that the women whom they have met with in their excursions, deserved not their homage.

The individuals of both sexes, children, whether young and old, are covered with vermin: they assiduously hunt those devouring animals, but in

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 187.

order to devour them themselves; and they appear so keen after them, that one might be tempted to believe that it is for the purpose of husbanding themselves the pastime of hunting in the *vale of pleasure*, that they suffer them to multiply*. The furs which they sell to strangers are so infested with them, that whatever pains be taken to rid the skins of those insects, they soon increase to such an excess, that it becomes impossible for the crew of a ship to escape their pursuit and voracity: it may be said, that, in taking a cargo of furs, a vessel takes a cargo of lice.

It cannot be doubted that the small-pox has been introduced into the countries which border on TCHINKITANAY Bay; for several individuals of both sexes bear unequivocal marks of it; and they explained very clearly to Surgeon ROBLET, who questioned them concerning the cause of these marks, that they proceeded from a disorder which made the face swell, and covered the body with virulent pustules that occasioned violent itchings: they even remarked that the French must be well acquainted with it, since some of them also bore the marks of it. In 1787, Captain PORTLOCK was witness of the ravages which it had made, some years before, and of the depopulation that had been the consequence of it, in the harbour to

* This taste is common to them as well as to the people of China.

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which he has given his name, and which is situated at no great distance to the north-west of TCHINKITÂNAY towards the latitude of $57^{\circ} 50'$. From the information that he was able to procure, he thinks, and this opinion appears to be well founded, that the Spaniards who, in 1775, pushed their discoveries on this coast, as far as the fifty-eighth parallel, left there this indelible trace of their unexpected appearance and visit *. It was then reserved for them to spread contagion on the two shores of the New World, as if their arms ought not to have sufficed for its depopulation; for it is well known that the small-pox was carried to MEXICO, by a negro slave belonging to the suit of NARVAEZ, when the latter was sent with a body of troops, by VELASQUEZ, commandant at CUBA, to deprive CORTES of his commission and arrest him in the midst of his conquests. QUETLAVACA, who occupied the throne of MEXICO, after the tragical end of the unfortunate MONTEZUMA, his brother, which was disgraceful to the conqueror, fell a victim to that frightful disorder, one of the scourges of EUROPE which ravaged and depopulated the two AMERICAS †. The Spaniards think to justify themselves by saying, that, if they gave the small-pox to the Americans, this was only exchanging one

* *Portlock's Voyage*, page 270 and following.

† See *Robertson's History of America*, Book VII. Note LXVIII.

disorder for another : ah ! if, in fact, it be true, that the disease which they brought back from their conquests, and which has infected the Old Continent, took birth in the New ; if it were inevitable that the two Worlds, by opening a communication, should reciprocally bestow on each other so fatal a present, it may be said, that, in this respect, as well as in many others, it would have been better, for the happiness of the human species, that they had continued eternally unknown to each other.

Costume The dress of the men and women of TCHINKI-TANAY consists of a sort of shirt of tanned skin, sewed at the sides, the wide sleeves of which reach only a little below the shoulder, and a fur cloak which is worn with the hair on the outside. Over this, the women wear, besides, an apron of the same skin which comes no higher than the waist, and another otter cloak over the former. The Editor of DIXON'S Journal says, that, " besides " their ordinary dress, the natives at this place " have a peculiar kind of cloaks, made purposely " to defend them from the inclemency of the weather. I had no opportunity," adds he, " of " examining them minutely, but they appear to be made of reeds sewed very closely together ; and I " was told by one of our gentlemen who was with " Captain Cook during his last voyage, that they " are exactly the same with those worn by the in-
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"habitants of NEW ZEALAND*." When the cold is not sharp, the men throw off the skin shirt, and content themselves with the skin cloak, which admits of part of their body being seen naked. Most of them are adorned with a necklace, composed of copper wire interwoven; and this ornament appears not to be of European manufacture; it might be taken for a work of their own hands. They therefore possess mines, whence they extract this metal; and nothing contradicts this first supposition: but it would be necessary to suppose too that they possess the art of melting metal, of drawing it into wire, of working it; and what we have been able to learn of their industry, does not favour the idea that we can grant them this knowledge. What seems most probable, is, that these necklaces, fabricated in some of the European settlements of the interior, come to them ready made, from tribe to tribe, through the channel of the intermediate nations. Both sexes make use of a small hat, made of bark, plaited, and in the form of a cone truncated at a fourth or a third of its height: but, most frequently, the men have the head bare; their thick hair, mixed with ochre and down of birds, forms a natural head-dress, which, in ordinary weather, must be sufficient to protect their head from the injury of the air. It might be imagined, from the prefer-

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 191.

ence which they at this day give to jackets and trowsers, that they find the use of them more convenient than that of their former clothes; yet I should rather think, that, not being able to acquire but by the sacrifice of their furs, the European utensils the utility of which they have discovered, and which have made them know wants; eager to procure themselves with new commodities, new enjoyments, they have accommodated themselves to our dress: for it must be admitted that a Frenchman who should be condemned to pass a winter, amid the frozen forests of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, in 57° north latitude, would prefer to our woollen cloths, those thick furs which Nature seems to have, designedly, lavished on the countries where the severity of the cold demands the use of them.

Independently of their every day clothing, the men have another which may be called their holiday suit, or habit of ceremony. As this dress differs, from the masquerade or war dresses in which the natives of NOOTKA sometimes muffle themselves up, and which Captain Cook, who has described them with the greatest minuteness, calls their *monstrous decorations**, it may not be useless to make known that of the Tchinkitanayans: to add a chapter to the history of dresses, is to add one to that of the extravagances of the

* See Cook's *Third Voyage*, vol. ii. page 306.

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privileged animal, so proud of his reason, who styles himself the king of Nature.

As far as we are able to judge, the dress of which Captain CHANAL gives us the description, is reserved by the natives of TCHINKITANAY, for particular ceremonies or functions, for characters of buffoons or jugglers: to the object of war it appears to be quite foreign. It is remarked, however, that the use of this dress is not confined to old men; for the American to whom the French addressed themselves to see one of these dresses of character, appeared not to be more than twenty-five years of age*. It was not without some difficulty that they prevailed on him to display part of his wardrobe which he kept carefully put by in a little box, and in which, through great condescension towards strangers, he was pleased to muffle himself up in their presence. The first piece of this whimsical attire is a sort of grenadier's cap, or rather the fore part of a mitre, which is placed on the forehead, and fastened by strings tied behind the head; the sides of it are bordered with long hair of men and beasts. On the exterior part of this head-dress, are represented figures of men, quadrupeds, and birds, painted in a grotesque manner; and braids, composed of hair of beasts, and filaments of tree or shrub-bark, like flax †, hang down behind as a long

* Observations of Roblet.

† *Ibid.*

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trailing tail. The breast is covered with a sort of plastron or cuirass, made of a tissue of spun hair, and trimmed with slips of skin, which are shaped like the skirts of a corset, the lower extremities of which are cut out into little fringes to which are suspended, in infinite numbers, small shells, spurs and bills of birds: on the middle of this plastron, are painted various irregular figures. On each thigh, and knee, are placed pieces nearly similar, with this difference, that that of the knee presents a grotesque head with a wooden nose, moveable and hooked, three or four inches in length. These last-mentioned pieces are, like the cuirass, garnished with shells and dried extremities of birds, which, by striking against each other in the motions of the body, imitate, though very imperfectly, the sound of our little bells. The Tchinkitanayan, muffled up in this garb, holds, in one hand, a hoop of plaited osier, eight or nine inches in diameter, the radii and circumference of which are decorated with the same gew-gaws as the other parts of the dress. In the other hand, he carries the representation, made with osier or bark*, of a human head, terminated in a point, and fixed at the end of a stick about eight inches in length; this head is filled with dried and sonorous seeds, and may be compared, though on a large scale, to those wicker-rattles which the

* Observations of Roblet.

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village-nurses shake in the ears of their nursling. As soon as the actor had finished his toilet, the piece began : it neither was long nor overcharged with incidents ; in it, the three unities were perfectly observed ; he confined himself to agitating his body in every way, and to endeavouring, by a universal contortion of his limbs, to find motions that might multiply the shocks of the sonorous gew-gaws with which his dress was loaded, in order to increase and diversify their sounds. At the same time, he made horrible grimaces, which CALLOT might have employed, with success, in his *Temptation of Saint Anthony* : it cannot be said that he was the more ugly on that account ; but he produced varieties in his ugliness. It may well be supposed that it was impossible for the spectators to divine the subject of the piece ; they were obliged to content themselves with admiring the elegance of the costume and the suppleness of the actor of the pantomime.

This character-dress was not the only one that he possessed ; his wardrobe contained a great number, no doubt for different parts, and was remarked, above all, for a varied collection of caps. It may be imagined that national vanity had induced him to display, to the eyes of strangers, the dress to which he attached the most importance, and which seemed to him the best calculated to excite their admiration ; they were, however, very desirous to see the others, but he would not

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GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
OF CANADA

permit them to be examined; and whatever entreaty they made, whatever price they offered, they could never prevail on him to part with any articles of his wardrobe.

The population of TCHINKITANAY Bay, like that of all the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, is not numerous. We may suppose that the greater part, and almost the whole of the natives who occupy the skirts of the bay, with the exception of the old men and the infirm, presented themselves round the ship; and our voyagers could never reckon more than two hundred individuals, including women and children: but, as the number of the men always exceeded that of the women, we must suppose that some of the latter had remained in the habitations, in order to give their attention to the family concerns, and to the children at the breast. In DIXON'S Journal, we find that the greatest number ever seen about his ship at one time, was a hundred and seventy-five, including women and children: the Editor of his voyage says, "were I to estimate these at half
" the number who live here, it would, perhaps,
" not be far from the truth; but supposing an
" allowance to be made for the aged and infirm,
" and for those who were absent, engaged in
" hunting, fishing, &c. I think four hundred and
" fifty people will be the whole of the natives
" found here, taking the computation in its utmost
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" extent, and including men, women, and children *."

We must not be astonished to find a feeble population on lands whose forests, perhaps as ancient as the soil that nourishes them, cover all the surface which is not reached by the tempests of the ocean. The man, who, to secure his subsistence, has only the chances of hunting and fishing, can scarcely provide for himself: culture alone can call forth population; and a few cultivated acres of one of those islands placed between the tropics, must afford a living to a greater number of men, than whole countries where the land exhausts its fecundity in reproducing incessantly useless forests.

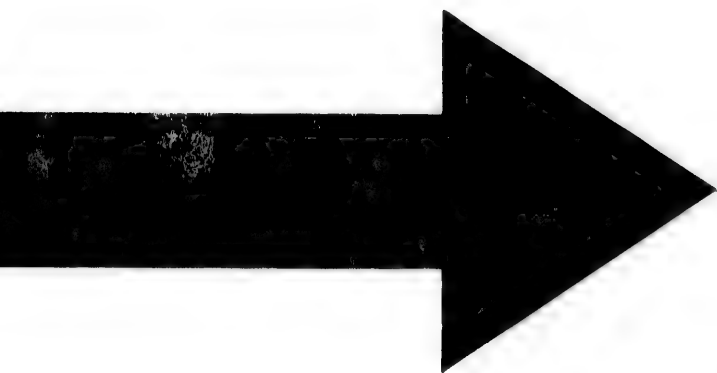
The principal food of the natives of TCHINKIT-ANAY is fish, fresh or smoked, the dried spawn of fish, of which they make a sort of cake, and the flesh of the animals that they kill; to these they add, in the intervals of their meals and in their excursions, the use of a farinaceous legume, the taste of which may be compared to that of the sweet potatoe, and which Surgeon ROBLET believes to be the *faranne* †. Wild fruits, and berries

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 186.

† The Editor of *Dixon's voyage* says that "the *faranne*," which, according to him, is the wild lily root, "grows here in great plenty and perfection." (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 185.)

The *faranne* (*lilium flore atro rubente*) is not the lily of the valley (*Lilium convallium album*) commonly called in French





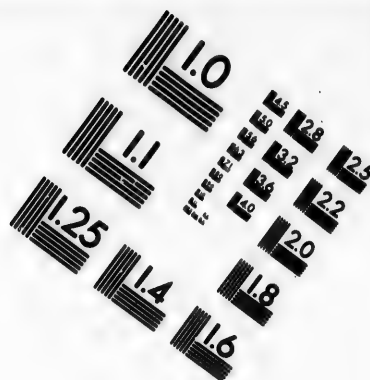
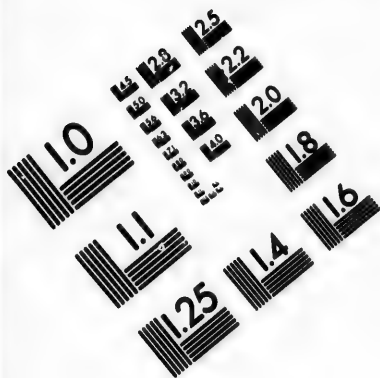
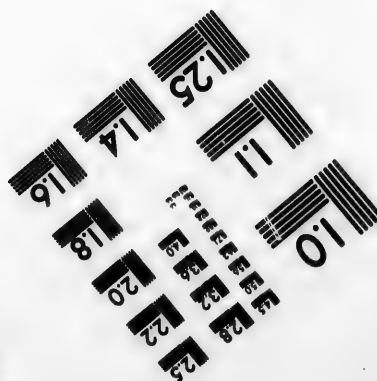
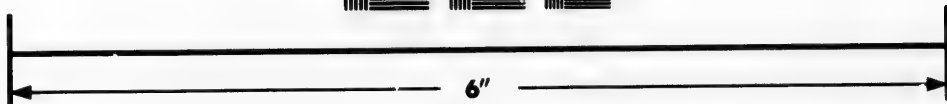
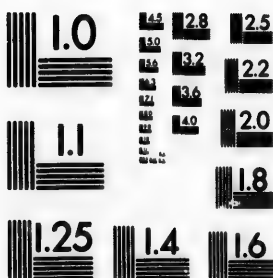


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ries which are found in abundance in the woods, with the tender root of the fern, likewise afford them

muguet, with the sweet odour of which every one is acquainted. The *muguet* also grows at *Tchinkitdnay* (as has been seen in page 302); but it is a lily with a blue flower and of a large species.

The *saranne* is the *Kamschatka* lily, a species of liliaceous plant which *Steller* says is to be met with only in *Siberia* and in the peninsula of *Kamschatka*, and which nature, no doubt, has likewise bestowed on the parts of the north-west coast of *America* situated under the same latitudes. This plant grows to the height of half a foot: its bulbous root is of the bigness of that of garlic: its stem is as thick as a swan's quill, red below and green above: it is garnished with two rows of oval leaves, the lower row has three leaves, and the upper one, four. The flower, which appears in the month of June (a time when this plant shoots much higher), is reddish and resembles that of the lily: its stamina are yellow at the end, and, six in number, surround the pistil, which is triangular and contains in three capsules, some reddish seeds. The inhabitants of the countries where this plant grows, make a sort of gruel with its bulbous root.

Steller distinguishes five species of *sarannes*; namely,

1. The *Kimtchiga* which resembles our sweet pea;
2. The round *Saranne*, which has been above described;
3. The *Onsenka*, which grows throughout all *Siberia*;
4. The *Titchpa*;
5. The *Matifla sladka trava*; or the sweet plant, of which sweetmeats are made in the country, and from which the Russians find means also to extract a spirituous liquor.

The root of this last-mentioned plant is yellow without, white within, and of a bitter and tart flavour: its fleshy and jointed stem rises to the height of five feet; it is garnished with ten leaves of a greenish red; its flowers are white and resemble those of fennel. The *Matifla* is never gathered but with gloves,

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them an occasional supply. We know not what was their peculiar manner of preparing their aliments; at this day, they dress fish and meat in the pots and kettles which they have obtained by trade; but, taught by experience, they no longer expose to the fire the tin and pewter vessels which they have received from the Europeans; they gave the French to understand that the former were unfolded, and the latter, melted: they make use of both for serving up their food when dressed; and they employ them jointly with the wooden dishes and bowls which they manufacture themselves. Their travelling utensils are become much more cumbersome than they were before their intercourse with strangers: they begin to experience the embarrassment of riches.

on account of its caustic juice which raises blisters on the hands.

(See BOMARE's *Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle* at the word *Saranne*, where will be found a description of the manner of drawing from this plant an ardent spirit.)

As it appears that the natives of the north-west coast of America eat the *saranne*; as we are certain that in *Siberia* and in *Kamtschatka*, it makes a part of the food of their inhabitants; and as it is of importance to seamen, to be acquainted, in the distant countries where they are likely to touch, with all the vegetables that may be employed as food, I thought that it was useful to indicate to them the distinctive characters of this plant, in order that they may not be at a loss to distinguish it from those which might resemble it and not possess the same quality.

They always mix train-oil with their broth. This oil, the strong and tart smell of which makes us reject it from our cookery, excites not the same repugnance among the North Americans, and the other nations that occupy the regions bordering on the poles: the Greenlander swallows a glass of train-oil, as the European would swallow a glass of TOKAY. Fish-oil, in general, is a liquor of which the inhabitant of the frozen climates, settled on the borders of the sea, and living on its productions, makes a habitual and necessary use; it develops the heat concentrated in the stomach, and, by driving it towards the circumference, by carrying it to the extremities, it maintains throughout the whole habit of the body, the circulation of the fluids; it protects the members from a numbedness which would end by causing their action to cease, and occasion their loss. It is not known that the Tchinkitanayans make use of any fermented drink, or any strong liquor; and the brandy of which they were prevailed on to make a trial, appeared not to be to their liking: it were to be wished, for their tranquillity and happiness, that their communication with Europeans may not introduce into their forests, this fatal liquor which has carried confusion into those of the savages of the EAST part of NORTH AMERICA, and which, on the coast of AFRICA, is paid for by the freedom of men. Their custom, like that of almost all the nations of AME-

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* See in the Int
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RICA and ASIA, is to chew habitually a species of herb; and as soon as they were acquainted with the tobacco leaf, they gave it the preference to that which they before employed to satisfy the same want.

The first navigators who visited the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, in ascending from the forty-second degree of latitude to the sixtieth parallel, found that the knowledge and the use of iron had long since arrived there; and they saw, in the hands of the natives, various instruments and tools of that metal: it is probable that the latter received it from the interior, by communicating, from tribe to tribe, with the nations which receive it immediately through the medium of the Europeans, either from the English settlements of HUDSON'S Bay, or from the Spanish *presidios*. The trade of the Americans of the NORTH-WEST coast with the Russians must, for upwards of half a century past, have made them acquainted with iron and copper; for, as far back as the year 1741, BEERING and TSCHIRICOW, having sailed from the coast of KAMTSCHATKA, discovered that of AMERICA on the opposite side, and led the way to the important discoveries, which the Russians have made within these seventy years, and which have given to the Empire of RUSSIA new tributaries and a new branch of commerce*.

* See in the INTRODUCTION, the *Voyages of the Russians* from 1728 to 1769.

The Tchinkitanayans are all armed with a metal dagger, fifteen or sixteen inches long, from two and a half to three broad, terminated in a point, and sharp on both sides: this is the weapon which they are the most careful to preserve, and which they take a pleasure in keeping polished and bright: a grenadier is not more proud of his sabre, than a Tchinkitanayan is of his dagger; he wears it in a shoulder-belt, in a leather scabbard, and is never without it, either day or night. It is with this weapon, which never ought to have been turned against our fellow-creatures, that sometimes he engages the bear in close combat, and rips open its belly when the furious animal is ready to stifle him in its paws. It is not known how long this dagger, which, originally, must have been of hard wood, has been made of a metal the use of which man has not limited to his wants and conveniences, but which, in his hands, is become, for his species, the instrument of destruction *. Their pikes, which, no doubt, were, at first, tipped with a hard stone, tapering to a point, or with a fish-bone, are at this day armed with an iron head of European manufacture. Their lances, the ancient shape of which is not known, are at present composed of two pieces; of the staff, about fifteen or eighteen feet long, and of the iron, nowise inferior to that of the

* *Et curva rigidum fulces constantur in enses.* VIRG. Georg. lib. i.

"The sickles into barbarous swords are beat." WARTON.

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halbert of parade with which our parish-beadles used to be equipped. To the stone hatchet, they have substituted the *Tok*, a sort of thick plane-iron which they adjust firmly on the extremity of a crooked handle; and this instrument, in their hands, performs the office of a carpenter's adz. They have, however, preserved the bow and arrow of their forefathers; the place of this weapon, which carries far, can be supplied with advantage by fire-arms only; and we must hope, for the safety of their European friends, that they will never learn to make use of them. It appears that the English, in their visits, distributed a few muskets on the part of the coast which borders on TCHINKITANAY Bay; and I know not whether a well-conceived policy can approve of such presents; the interest of the Europeans ought, methinks, to induce them to maintain the American in the opinion that fire-arms are a species of thunder, which it is not allowable for him to touch without risking his life: I am well aware of the danger of suffering him to grow familiar with the instrument of our power. Yet it seems that the English, in giving them muskets, have not furnished the mover and the *primum mobile* which render them formidable; for a native of TCHINKITANAY who had possessed one, gave the French to understand that he had broken it in a passion, because, said he, the musket always went *crik*, and would never go *pouhou*.

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They have not changed the instrument with which they arm themselves for whale-fishing: this instrument is a harpoon of bone, bearded, and mounted on a long pole. Relying on this weapon, which they handle with uncommon dexterity, two Tchinkitanayans boldly attack the whale. When they are arrived near the place where they have seen him dive for the last time, they slacken the progress of their canoe, play, as it were, with their paddles on the surface of the water; and as soon as he re-appears, the harpioneer seizes his harpoon, and drives at the monster. According to their account, the dart thrown never fails to make its way, through one of the eyes, into the inside of the head: and the animal is soon lifeless. The fat of the whale furnishes the Americans with an oil, which they preserve in guts of a large capacity, and which, as I have said, is a great dainty among them; the beard is converted into combs, of which, however, they make little use, and likewise into spoons and other household utensils.

Costume

The Tchinkitanayan is industrious, active, laborious and skilful. Different works in wicker plaited with a sort of elegance; cloaks of spun hair, woven in a workman-like manner, intermixed with pieces of otter-skin, and extremely well calculated as a preservative from the cold*; the dressing and tanning

* "One of the Chiefs who came to trade with us," says the Editor of *Dixon's Journal*, "happening one day to cast his eyes

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tanning of skins; various works of sculpture and painting—every thing announces a long employment of the useful arts, and a knowledge of those which are merely agreeable.

The taste of ornament prevails in all the works of their hands; their canoes, their chests, and different little articles of furniture in use among them, are covered with figures which might be taken for a species of hieroglyphics: fishes and

“ eyes on a piece of *Sandwich* Island cloth, which hung up in the shrouds to dry, became very importunate to have it given him. ‘The man to whom the cloth belonged,’ continues he, ‘parted with it very willingly, and the Indian was perfectly overjoyed with his present. After selling what furs he had brought, with great dispatch, he immediately left us, and paddled on shore, without favouring us with a parting song, as is generally the custom. Soon after day-light the next morning, our friend appeared alongside dressed in a coat made of the *Sandwich* Island cloth given him the day before, and cut exactly in the form of their skin coats, which greatly resemble a waggoner’s frock, except the collar and wristbands. The Indian was more proud of his newly-acquired dress than ever London beau was of a birthday suit; and we were greatly pleased with this proof of these people’s ingenuity and dispatch; the coat fitted exceedingly well; the seams were sewed with all the strength the cloth would admit of, and with a degree of neatness equal to that of an English mantua-maker.” (*Dixon’s Voyage*, page 189.)

It may be presumed that the Tchinkitanayan will discover, by use, that on the north-west coast of *America*, a paper-cloth coat deserves not the preference to the skin of an otter or of a bear; and that he will soon return to his bears and his otters.

other

other animals, heads of men, and various whimsical designs, are mingled and confounded in order to compose a subject. It, undoubtedly, will not be expected that these figures should be perfectly regular, and the proportions in them exactly observed; for here, every man is a painter and sculptor; yet they are not deficient in a sort of elegance and perfection. But these paintings, these carvings, such as they are, are seen on all their furniture. Is this general taste simply produced and kept alive by the want of occupying the leisure of a long winter, if, however, winter leaves them leisure? Or rather does not its principle arise from the ancient state of their society, which is lost to us in the obscurity of their origin? I shall resume this subject.

(Canoes) Their genius and industry are displayed principally in the construction of their canoes: those which are intended for the use of a single family, composed in general, of seven or eight individuals, are fifteen or sixteen feet in length by two and a half or three feet in width; others have much larger dimensions, and carry from fifteen to twenty persons: they are all cut out of a single trunk of a tree, and have a similar form; their two extremities do not differ from each other, which must give these canoes the advantage of being never obliged to put about: they are very sharp, and terminate in a cut-water, projecting fifteen or eighteen inches, which is not more than an inch in thickness; these

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these two extremities, raised by planks neatly fitted, are higher than the rest of the canoe: seats fixed very near the bottom, are so disposed as to receive the rowers, who, when they are seated, serve, in some measure, as ballast: the provisions, the clothes, and all the baggage, are arranged in the middle part, where they are covered with skins of beasts and strips of bark, which serve also for covering the temporary settlements that are formed on the sea-shore, when the fishing-season is arrived, for drying fish, and furnishing the supply that is to make part of their subsistence during the winter months. Although the lading of the canoes is considerable, since, independently of the men, they carry women, children, provisions, all the household utensils, all the fishing implements, all the moveables belonging to the family (for it appears, that according to the example of the sage, the Americans take all their property with them), these boats are so thin and so light, that they preserve a surprising velocity. We are not less astonished at their stability: notwithstanding the lightness and the small breadth of their hull, they have no need of being supported by outriggers, and they are never coupled together. The Tchin-kitanayans have not the use of the sail; but we doubt not that, having learned, from the example of the Europeans, how useful a help this is for gaining time and saving trouble, they will shortly attempt to apply it to their canoes: they are already

ready

ready versed in the art of weaving; one step more is sufficient for them to add to their canoes a mast and a yard, and to adapt a sail to them.

Canoe making
Although the natives of TCHINKITÂNAY have long been in possession of European hatchets, they do not yet make use of this instrument for felling the tree which they intend for the construction of a canoe; they have preserved their ancient method of undermining its foot by means of fire: it is by the assistance of this same agent that they contrive to hollow it out; it is also with this instrument, which is docile in their hands, and the action of which they know how to direct and regulate, that they fashion the tree on the outside, so as to give it the form the best calculated for being supported by the water, and for dividing the fluid by either of its extremities indifferently. We shall cease to be surprised that, since they are acquainted with the hatchet, which seems to afford both facility and dispatch, they have not preferred the use of it to the laborious and long proceeding which they continue to employ, if we do not forget that fire has the property of hardening the wood to which it has been applied, consequently of procuring it greater density, and of rendering it more impervious to the water. It cannot be doubted that they have discovered in fire this property of rendering wood more compact, and of prolonging its duration, when it is to be exposed to moisture, since, when they make a point to a stake which they

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they intend to be driven into the ground, they take great care to harden, by means of fire, all the part that is to be buried *.

The temporary settlements which the Tchinkitanayans form on the coast, such as they have been described, would give us reason to believe that their progress in civil architecture is not so rapid as in naval; but, from what the French could learn from them, they have, up the country, some well-built, spacious, and convenient habitations. If their account be faithful, and if our voyagers understood them rightly, we must conclude that these Americans, from what they said, are not a wandering tribe, but abandon their homes, only when the hunting or fishing season, or trade with strangers, compels them, for a time, to make a few excursions to a distance, and proceed to the borders of the sea. We may, without impeaching their industry, imagine that these habitations of the interior, of which they speak with a sort of emphasis, greatly resemble, in point of architecture, size, and convenience, those of the natives of NOOTKA, a description and a drawing of which are to be found in Cook's third voyage. It must be admitted that these are indeed palaces, if we compare them to those miserable huts which were seen on the coast, and which, under their covering of skins and bark, receive a whole family, heaped

* Observations of Roblet.

up pell-mell on a few toises of moist ground, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the lateral air, in a climate where REAUMUR's thermometer, during the day, rises no higher than twelve degrees in the dog-days*.

The Tchinkitanayans have a decided taste for singing, and it appears to be among them a sort of social institution: at fixed periods of the day, in the morning and evening, they sing in chorus; every person present takes a part in the concert; and they all exhibit a composure which might suggest the idea that the words of their songs carry with them an interest that fixes their attention. The Editor of DIXON's Journal has inserted, in his narrative, a Tchinkitanayan song, which he frequently heard repeated during the stay of the English in the bay; it is written in notes with bars. It appears that the chief of the family begins by singing alone the first two measures; the men and women then join their voices to his in chorus, the women to the upper octave; and, all beat time with much exactness, sometimes with their hands; at others, with paddles; meanwhile the chief shakes his rattle and makes a thousand ridiculous gesticulations, singing at intervals in different notes from the rest. They have, adds

* According to *Dixon's Journal* (page 185), the mean heat during his stay in *Norfolk Sound*, towards the end of June, was 48 degrees of *Fahrenheit's* thermometer, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of *Reaumur's*.

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that Journalist, a great variety of tunes, but their method of performing them is universally the same *. The French observe, in like manner, that all the fingers beat time, and that they have so true an ear, that never more than a single stroke is heard. Our voyagers, taking a pleasure in their singing, which is melodious, frequently requested them to sing, and they did so without suffering themselves to be pressed; nor did they endeavour to make a favour of shewing their talent by a resistance which is not always a proof of modesty or diffidence. In their turn, they requested the French to sing, and appeared particularly to enjoy the slow tunes, the movement of which comes near to that of their songs; an opera of LULLY would be heard with rapture at TCHINKITÂNAY; and, no doubt, its success would be complete, if it were terminated by a ballet of devils, in which the natives might recognize themselves.

A rapid inspection may suffice for an observing traveller, to learn the physical constitution of the people whom he visits, and enable him to describe their dress, weapons, arts, food, and every thing that strikes the senses: but if a nation be not assembled in great numbers on the same spot; if he see only portions of it distant from their homes; if he cannot penetrate to their fixed habitations, it is

* See *Dinon's Voyage*, page 243.

scarcely

scarcely possible for him to acquire a knowledge of its government, its religion when it has one, its manners, and its customs : then, he is reduced to conjectures ; he endeavours to divine, and he thinks he knows : it is but too common that from an insulated fact, from a single observation, he forms his conclusions of the community from the individual ; and the picture which he presents as drawn from nature, is no more than a picture of imagination. He experiences still greater difficulties, if he wish to form and give an idea of the character of this same nation of which he sees only a few individuals, for a moment, and merely for the object of trade. In order to know the character and seize its shades, it is necessary to have studied it for a long time, to have examined man in circumstances where the mind is agitated by the passions, and in those when, restored to tranquillity, it pours itself into the bosom of friendship, or peaceably enjoys itself in the intimacy of a well-matched union : and can a traveller see in every moral attitude, if I may use the expression, the man whom he wishes to draw ? The trait which the observation of the day makes him note down as characteristic, the observation of the morrow will make him efface ; in short, he is forced to paint the subject in profile, in order that the moveability of the features may not make him miss the likeness ; and a profile has no countenance. It will not therefore be expected that what con-

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cerns the religious and political institutions, the customs, the moral qualities, and the character of the Tchinkitanayans should be presented with detail : I can produce no more than a shapeless sketch ; report some facts, with less order than accuracy ; and compare what voyagers have said, in order to confirm or invalidate their accounts, the one by the other, and sometimes to supply the deficiency of proofs by probabilities.

It was not possible for the French to ascertain whether the Tchinkitanayans acknowledge a Supreme Being, whether they pay him any sort of worship, and whether they have an idea of a future life, which implies the principle of the immortality of the soul. The Editor of Dixon's Journal mentions, however, that he was one day endeavouring to get the meaning of some words in their language from one of the chiefs, and says he, " the American, pointing to the sun, took great pains to make me understand, that notwithstanding our apparent superiority in possessing various useful articles, which they did not, yet that our origin was the same with theirs, that they came from above as well as we, and that the sun animated and kept alive every creature in the universe *." The Tchinkitanayans therefore acknowledge, under the emblem of the sun, a Supreme Divinity ? This idea is the first

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, pages 189 and 190.

that presents itself to the man who has no other guide than the light of reason; beyond that, every thing is supernatural. Perhaps those songs which precede and conclude their commercial dealings, are invocations and thanksgivings to the Universal Being; perhaps those regulated songs, at the rising and setting of the luminary of the day, are acts of adoration; perhaps, in short, those whimsical dresses which have been mentioned, are intended to be employed in religious ceremonies, in festivals which are not celebrated in their temporary settlements on the coast, but are reserved for their fixed dwellings in the interior of the country. It is very rare for men to be formed into society, without their having priests, superstitions, and ceremonies; they must have shows, errors, and consolations.

No opportunity occurred of observing the funeral ceremonies practised by the Tchinkitanayans, when death takes off the chief of a family or one of its members: no doubt, they do not give them up with indifference to the destructive elements, like the remains of the animal of the woods whose skin they have stripped off; and their reason is too far advanced not to have dictated to them the last duties which are to be paid to the dead by conjugal affection, filial piety, and sweet friendship: perhaps it was reserved for the most civilized people of the Old World to abandon to unfeeling hirelings the mortal part of what was the

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the most dear to us, and not to indulge themselves in dropping a tear on the earth which is on the point of consuming it. But, if we know not what honours the Tchinkitanayans pay to the dead, at least we know that they are extremely careful and intent to adorn their abode, and to rescue from destruction the most noble part of the being, that which appears to be the seat of thought. (The Editor of DIXON's Journal reports that "Mr. TURNER, one of Captain DIXON's officers, while he was making an excursion in the boat on the west coast of the bay, about four miles to the northward of their first anchoring-birth, saw a large cave, formed by nature in the side of a mountain; curiosity prompted him to go on shore, in order to examine it, as there appeared something, which, at a distance, looked bright and sparkling. On getting into the cave, he found the object which attracted his attention to be a square box, with a human head in it: the box was very beautifully ornamented with small shells, polished and shining, composing various designs, and seemed to have been left there very recently, being the only one in the place*." Captain DIXON, who had discovered PORT MULGRAVE, situated two degrees and a half to the northward of TCHINKITANAY, there met, in his excursions, with several

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 181.

of this sort of burying-places. If we can contrive not to suffer our opinion to be governed by appearances; if, in stripping objects of their matter, we are willing, in order to appreciate them to consider the motive, the box in which the American preserves the desiccated head which was dear to him, and the urn in which CORNELIA preserves the ashes of POMPLY, will not differ in our eyes: the same sentiment renders them equally sacred. When we see the pains, the degree of refinement, which these people, whom we dare to call *savages*, vie with each other in employing, to adorn that portion of the remains of their relations or of their friends, which they can dispense with restoring to the elements, we must believe that, if, like the Egyptians, they possessed the art of embalming, or if Nature had dug in their solitudes, asylums inaccessible to corruption, such as those preservative caverns in the Island of TENERRIFFE, where, for so many centuries past, the desiccated bodies of the ancient Guanches repose entire, we should see them, at fixed periods, on the return of the seasons, pay religiously to their ancestors, respected both by men and by time, the perpetuated homage of filial piety and of gratitude. Feeling people, may you ever preserve this sentiment, sometimes impaired, but indelible, which endeavours to prolong, by illusion, the existence of our forefathers or of our models! And never may one of those political revolutions which overthrow

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throw great empires, by bringing you back to the insensibility of the wandering animals with which you share your forests, make you forget what the present owes to the past, what the living owe to the dead!

The French were unable to ascertain whether the total number of the natives whom they saw assembled in TCHINKITANAY Bay, and who all belonged to the surrounding coast, form one and the same tribe, and whether they acknowledge a supreme chief: only, the first day that the *Solide* anchored in the bay, a personage better dressed than the rest, seemed to affect an air of superiority; but, as his companions shewed him no respect, and appeared not to pay any attention to him, the French thought that they ought not to pay him any more. The following day, they saw this same man, without any distinctive mark, confounded in the crowd: he had forgotten his dignity of the preceding day; or they had been mistaken in regard to this dignity. The government of the Tchinkitanayans would appear then to approach the patriarchal government, where every one acknowledges as a superior the chief only of the family; but they want flocks and herds, the place of which cannot be supplied by otters and bears. Dixon's Editor, however, seems to admit tribes or chiefs of tribes; for he says that "the chief of the tribe has always the entire management of all the trade belonging

"to his people, and takes infinite pains to dis- pose of their furs advantageously *." This passage of DIXON should not therefore persuade me that he thought the Tchinkitanayans are divided into tribes; and what he says may be explained by what Captain CHANAL says, when he speaks of their intelligence and cunning in trade; he remarks that the greater part of the natives intrusted the business of trading for them, to those among them whom they knew to be the most skilful in this kind of traffic: this seems to me to indicate merely the mistrust of their own talent, and a sort of homage paid to that of another; it is an act of deference dictated by interest; but it is not an act of submission; and it seems to me that the independence of each family, observed by Captain CHANAL, is not contradicted by the observation of DIXON's Editor.

The conduct of these Americans in traffic, announces both judgment and distrust. Different from the people who inhabit the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, they never prefer the agreeable to the useful; what is not to them an object of utility, is accepted only as a present, as *Stok*, according to their expression; it was observed that when they accept, by way of closing a bargain, any of our nick-nacks which have no value but from fancy, and can serve only for dress, it is solely for the purpose of pleasing their women:

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 187.

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they yield to importunity ; but it is evidently with regret *. Dealings with them are not to be terminated quickly : they do not conclude their bargains till after a long and minute examination of the commodities which are offered : the smallest defect escapes not the first glance of their eye, but makes them lessen the price of the article, or determines them to reject it entirely. The regulation which they established among them for their traffic with the strangers was admirable : each canoe was seen to approach the ship in its turn, without confusion, without dispute, and according to the order in which they had all presented themselves on their arrival near her ; and those who were in them, were neither eager, urgent, noisy, nor importunate. " The moment a chief has concluded a bargain," says DIXON's Editor, " he repeats the word *Cooceo* thrice, with quickness, and is immediately answered by all the people in his canoe with the word *Whoah*, pronounced in a tone of exclamation, but with greater or less energy, in proportion as the bargain he has made is approved of†." Captain CHANAL says only that when a bargain is concluded, they express their satisfaction by exclaiming *Ouah* ; this is DIXON's *Whoah*, written for the French pronunciation. The Editor of his Journal, struck, like the French, by the good order which the Americans of the

* Observations of Roblet. † Dixon's Voyage, page 189.

bay observe in their trade with strangers, and by the honesty with which they seem to deal, appears to doubt that confidence and harmony reign among themselves. After mentioning "that the chief of a tribe has always the entire management of all the trade belonging to his people;" he says that, "should a different tribe come alongside to trade, whilst he is trading, they wait with patience till he has done, and if, in their opinion, he has made a good market, they frequently employ him to sell their skins: sometimes, indeed, they seem extremely jealous of each other." This is a very probable conjecture; for he adds, that "they use every precaution to prevent their neighbours from observing what articles they obtain in exchange for their commodities*."

The mode of life of the Tchinkitanayans is very regular: they quitted the ship sufficiently early to be on shore before noon; this is the hour fixed for their first meal; and they take their second a little before night; this order is invariable.

The men appear to have for the women the regard and attention which their weakness claims; they are not seen here, as among most of the savage nations of AMERICA, charged with the rudest labours, and frequently treated no better than our beasts of burden. The men have reserved for themselves every laborious occupation, hunting, fishing,

* *Dixon's Voyage*, pages 187 and 188.

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* The Journal
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and the preparation and cooking of meat and fish. The employments of the women consist in cleaning the skins from their last grease, and sewing them and making them into dresses. Their difficulty in walking and their embonpoint announce that their life is very sedentary. They were seen sometimes to handle a paddle, but in cases only when they were alone in the canoe, or when the men were not in sufficient numbers to manage it. They appear very subordinate to their husbands; but the latter have for them the greatest respect; and they seldom take the liberty of concluding a bargain without consulting them. The women eat in common with the husband and the children; and it is well known, that, among the greater part of the tribes which occupy the islands of the GREAT OCEAN, and among some of those of the continent of AMERICA, the men never admit the women to their table. *Domestic*
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The good understanding which reigns in their families is manifested, in an affecting manner, by the general expression of their fondness for their children; and the cares which nature seems to have allotted exclusively to the mother, the father is often seen to take a delight in sharing. The situation of the children at the breast is, however, deplorable*. They are packed up in a sort of wicker cradle, somewhat like one of our chairs, the back *Crack*

* The Journal of Captain Chanal and the Observations of Surgeon Roblet are blended in the following description.

of which has been cut at a small height above the seat. This cradle is covered outwardly with dry leather, and lined with furs in the place where the child is to rest. There it is that the little sufferer experiences a sort of continual torture, and all the evils that can be produced by filthiness and confinement. Placed in a sitting posture with its legs extended, and stuck one against the other, it is covered to the chin by an otter-skin, and tied down, in order to fix it on its bed of pain, by leather straps which leave it no liberty except for the motions of its head; and most frequently, it moves that only to express its suffering. The care which is taken to cover with dry moss the seat on which it sits, and to place some between its thighs, also turns against it: its urine and excrements soon convert this moss into dung; and the fermentation which there takes place, produces, in those delicate parts of the body, excoriations, the scars of which it preserves for life. When the unfortunate little creature is taken from its case in order to be cleaned, an idea may be formed of what it must have suffered: all its limbs appear furrowed by the deep marks imprinted on them by the strong pressure of the straps which bind it, of the folds of the skin which envelops it, and even of the wood of the cradle in which it is carried.

The effects of this state of continual constraint are manifested in all the children at the breast; their leanness and weakness sufficiently indicate that, although

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although the mothers are, in general, excellent nurses, the good quality of the milk which they suck, is unable to give to their fettered members, the spring and the strength which motion and exercise can alone maintain and increase. But as soon as, released from the bonds of the fatal cradle, they can crawl on the ground and walk on all-fours, there takes place, throughout every part of their body, a sudden and rapid expansion; gaiety, that charming gaiety of childhood, soon succeeds to cries and tears; and health, which diffuses over their plump cheeks a brilliant carnation, announces that Nature has again laid hold of her work in order to bring it to perfection.

Let us not, however, judge too severely, let us not without inquiry, condemn the method, baneful in its effects, which the mothers of TCHINKITANAY employ in the rearing of their nurslings; it has its principle in maternal solicitude, and in the fear of exposing them to dangers. If, among the people, not yet civilized, who inhabit the burning climates, instinct has suggested to mothers the idea of not swaddling their children, in order to suffer them to enjoy a little coolness; it has in like manner taught those of the frozen climates, that heat can be preserved only inasmuch as it concentrated in a small space, and has pointed out to them to make small cradles, which, by fulfilling this first object, also answer the precautions required by the obligation of carrying their children

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on journies through the woods, and on excursions in their canoes : they have perceived that, for convenience, and still more to prevent, in these frequent removals, accidents which cannot be foreseen, it was necessary that the child and its cradle should form, as it were, but one body ; they have sacrificed its welfare to its safety and preservation. But have we not seen, at a time which is not very remote from ours, have we not seen, in a great nation, civilized for so many centuries past, which cannot plead the same motive of safety, and do we not still see, at this day, the rearing of children abandoned to mercenary women who cannot have the feelings of a mother, and who, to evade the obligation of being incessantly taken up with their nurslings, and to attend more freely to their family-concerns, bind from head to foot these innocent beings, and condemn them to the punishment of restraint during the whole time of their being suckled? Perhaps, in ages to come, the NORTH-WEST part of AMERICA will have its TRONCHIN and its ROUSSEAU : the former, supported by experience and physic, will advise ; while the latter, more powerful through his eloquence alone, will direct to be restored to the child that liberty which it cannot itself claim but by unavailing cries and tears that frequently injustice or barbarity dares impute to the perverseness of a being which is yet neither good nor wicked. The American physician and the philosopher will at least find Nature in the

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enjoyment of part of her rights; they will not have to command mothers to suckle their children.

But if the Tchinkitanayans have thought proper to restrict Nature in the attentions which they pay to infants, they preserve to her full liberty in the education of adults, and, by daily exercise, hasten the progress and development of their physical faculties. Male children share the fatigues of the father: trained, from their youngest days, to hunting and fishing, it is they who go and harpoon fish in the river, and there seek, with basins, kettles, and the other vessels which they have obtained from the Europeans, all the water necessary for the consumption of the family: they also go and cut wood for fuel and cooking; and, since the Europeans have made them acquainted with the use and convenience of the flint and steel, they avail themselves of them for obtaining fire*; but it is probable that, before this period, they knew how to procure it by some of those methods practised by savage nations; here are no little boys even, who, though scarcely yet able to walk, do not begin to exercise themselves with a piece of wood fashioned like a lance, and try the strength of their young arm against the trunk of the trees that are within their reach. The education of the girls allows them not to go far from the habitation: sedentary like the mother, they share her peaceful labours

* Observations of *Reblot*.

and occupations; and, in sharing equally with her the attentions which young infants require, they are, betimes, instructed in the duties that will one day be imposed on them by conjugal union and maternity.

Our voyagers were not able to learn on what principles the union of both sexes is formed; what ceremonies precede, accompany, and follow it; what contract binds the parties, and whether this bond be indissoluble; but their common affection for the fruit of their loves, the great number of individuals of which each family is composed, the harmony which reigns among its members—every thing seems to indicate that conjugal union has no other period than that of life: and if we are not certain that its ties are indissoluble, at least we have reason to believe that, in general, they are respected.

The behaviour of the women, in presence of their husbands, is extremely reserved and modest: the greatest decency is manifested in their dress; and scarcely do they allow themselves, in suckling their children, to uncover their bosom before a stranger. The men, who, in all countries, have made for one half of the human race, laws which are not binding on the other, do not submit more here than elsewhere, to the rules of decency to which they have subjected the women: frequently they undress and shew themselves naked before them
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and before strangers, and walk about in this state of nature, if the weather be not too severe: squatted in a circle round the fire, an attitude which is very usual with them, if they are pressed by a want, they satisfy it without shame, without turning aside, even in presence of their daughters: the women alone are acquainted with decorum, and scrupulously conform to the little restraints which it imposes in society. It may, however, be doubted whether the reserve for which they are honoured, be among them the effect of natural modesty or whether it ought not rather to be attributed to fear: the jealousy of the husbands is carried even to frenzy. A Tchinkitanayan, pointing to his wife who was suckling, gave the French to understand, by unequivocal signs and gestures, that, if he could suspect that the bantling reclined on her bosom, was the fruit of an infidelity, he would stab the mother and devour the child: yet we have no reason to think these people are cannibals*, a reproach

* Surgeon Roblet says, that, although nothing of what he saw, gave him reason to suspect the Tchinkitanayans to be cannibals, yet he cannot be persuaded that they are not so. "I wished repeatedly," adds he, "to clear up my doubts; I asked some among them if they ate the men whom they kill or make prisoners in war; and, after having convinced myself that they had understood me very well, I saw them always look at each other, without ever giving me an answer that could either destroy or confirm my suspicion: perhaps the European nations which have preceded us at

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proach which Captain Cook imagined he might make to the natives of NOOTKA who inhabit the same coast, seven or eight degrees more to the southward; it is to be presumed that the OROSMANE of TCHINKITÂNAY wished merely to express in a savage manner, to what excess jealousy might drive him: "*Je ne suis point jaloux. . . . si je*" "*Pétois jamais* *." In EUROPE we stop here; but the movement of the soul, which becomes indignant at the idea of infidelity, is the same; but only, at TCHINKITÂNAY, they are strangers to concealment. If we compare the inhabitant of this country with that of the MENDOÇA Islands,

"*Tchinkitânay*, have already made them blush at this execrable custom, and that they dare no longer avow it."

This suspicion of Surgeon Roblet appears to me by no means justified by the silence of the natives whom he questioned: first, I observe that *Dixon*, who has, without proof, accused the inhabitants of *Queen Charlotte's Islands* of being cannibals, although he never set his foot on their shore, has not made the same reproach to the *Tchinkitanayans* whom he frequented; in the second place, it would be necessary to be certain that they perfectly understood the question which was put to them; and lastly, this is not the case where *silence gives consent*; for, if as Surgeon Roblet presumes, they were cannibals, and the Europeans have made them blush at a custom at which nature revolts; it may be imagined that, before Europeans, they would have been eager, if they had comprehended the question, to give them to understand that they had renounced this custom, or to manifest, by a sign of horror, that they never practised it.

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in the different idea which both attach to modesty, and to conjugal fidelity, we discover that jealousy in men, may sometimes be in an inverse ratio to beauty in women. But this jealousy even, and the fear which it inspires, may constrain the disposition, but not change it: dissimulation finds means to supply the deficiency of virtue, and represents it. The Tchinkitanayan women make a parade of theirs, and their exaggeration may cause the reality to be suspected. A woman, who was asked whether the man that was seen near her was her husband, and whether the child which she had on her lap was this man's, thought that the stranger meant to tell her that her child was not by her husband; she immediately snatched the dagger which the latter carried at his side, and, with fury in her eyes, was on the point of striking with it him whom she imagined could have formed a doubt as to her fidelity and virtue*. However, these Tchinkitanayan females, so reserved in presence of their husbands, these paragons of virtue, far from avoiding strangers, expressed, by their stolen looks, that, if a severe vigilance had not opposed to their curiosity, or to their desires, an obstacle too difficult to be surmounted, they would have been very much inclined to be familiar with the Europeans: and when, by chance, some of them were met with alone, they were seen running up to the French with eagerness; the severe and even somewhat savage air, which they preserved in pre-

* Observations of Roblet.

sence of the men, instantly disappeared; an animated smile, a prepossessing affability succeeded to severity; and they proved, in a manner too expressive to be misunderstood, that ugliness is not always the pledge of chastity: perhaps too the French demonstrated to them, that it was not always doomed to experience a refusal.

Some of the SOLIDE's people reported that it was not possible for them to doubt that the Tchinkitanayans are polluted by that shameful vice which the immoral theology of the Greeks had made divine: the exclusive property and scarcity of the women, whose number appears not to be in proportion to that of the men, might, perhaps, give some weight to the accusation; but, admitting that it was well founded in regard to a few depraved individuals, let us beware of accusing a whole tribe, for whom paternity has so many charms, of a vice which is alike repugnant to Nature and to morality, and which all the nations of the earth have consigned to infamy*.

* Surgeon Roblet says that he is convinced that the men give themselves up, in private, to every thing that the most unbridled debauchery has been able to invent for the purpose of varying its enjoyments: *Aretino* would have refused to present the picture of them. But, since those who abandon themselves to this turpitude, take great care to conceal it from every eye, this is a proof that it is held in detestation by the greater number, and that shame accompanies the vile man who is polluted by it. At *Santa Christina*, no mystery is made of incontinence; it is the vice common to individuals of both sexes; it is the vice of the nation.

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The countenance of the Tchinkitanayans bears a gloomy impression which might be taken for ferocity, were it not necessary to attribute it to the dark colours with which they smear their face, and which render them hideous. They are not enemies to gaiety; but it is not natural to them; their disposition is rather allied to caution and reserve, perhaps to dissimulation. They have sometimes shewn traits of a petulant vivacity which might inspire some confidence: on other occasions, our voyagers had reason to conceive that they have very violent passions; but, always masters of themselves, they know how to command these passions, at least in presence of strangers. Their gestures are, in general, very expressive, and denote intelligence: from the beginning, they made the French comprehend very well what European commodity, what utensil they wished for, and designated, in a manner not to be mistaken, a jacket, a pair of trowsers, a shirt, a pot, a stew-pan, a kettle, a hatchet, a dagger, &c. It may be said that they wanted nothing but language. Captain CHANAL even asserts that he succeeded in making them understand moral and abstract ideas, and that they conversed with him without much difficulty. Surgeon ROBLET made the same trial, and had the same result; he says that they are capable of catching every idea that is presented to them: for instance, he had no difficulty in making them comprehend, that, when both par-

ties were once satisfied with a bargain, it neither is just nor possible to break it in an hour after it was concluded, unless by general consent. The Tchinkitanayans cannot be considered as a savage people; the judgment and cunning which they display in their commercial concerns, prove that they are susceptible of making a very rapid progress in civilization. Before the French landed on their coast, they had communicated but once with Europeans, or twice or thrice at most, if we reckon the visit of the Spaniards in 1775, and perhaps that of some vessel belonging to the UNITED STATES; it must therefore be presumed that their communication with the nations inland had rendered familiar to them the habit of barter; and the works in metal with which they were found provided the first time that they were visited, leave no room to doubt that the custom of traffic must be very ancient among them. Their mistrust in regard to strangers appears extreme; but it was not possible to distinguish whether it be the same among themselves; it was only remarked that those who were commissioned to make exchanges, were carefully followed and watched by those who intrusted to them the negotiation. Their behaviour to the French was civil, but not friendly; and the natives of the MENDOÇA Islands, though volatile, troublesome, and thievish, inspired, with all their failings, an interest which was not obtained by the gravity and reserve of the

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the natives of TCHINKITÂNAY : but is this interest perfectly independent of every influencing cause ; and, without being aware of it, have not the French, in weighing the merits of the two nations, suffered to slip into the scale the merit of the Mendoça belles ? It must have turned in their favour.

If we wish to compare these two nations with each other, and refer to a principle pretty generally known, what it may have been possible to distinguish of the character of both, the principle might not be found to agree with observation *. We consider as proved that climate has no less influence on the character and manner of nations, than on the productions of the earth ; and it should follow that the inhabitants of the MARQUESAS DE MENDOÇA, born and living under a burning sky, must be attacked by that moral disease which so cruelly torments men in the warm climates of EUROPE, and especially in ASIA ; I mean by that unbridled jealousy which makes husbands tyrants over their wives : we see, on the contrary, that the Mendoçans are lavish to an excess of a treasure the property and exclusive enjoyment of which others covet and maintain with fury. The Mendoçans are thieves ; but, as I have before remarked, they thief like children, and do not endeavour to keep by force what they have stolen through

* Observations of Roblet.

curiosity. Their blood, never agitated by violent movements of their soul which events and objects only graze without ever making on it a deep impression, seems to glide, like their days, with a gentle motion the equality of which nothing affects. The Americans, on the contrary, born, in some measure, in the midst of snow, and whose blood ought to partake of the cold which reigns in their forests, carry jealousy in regard to their women even to frenzy. Their gloomy and altered countenance seems to announce an internal agitation; and their passions, like a volcano at rest, are always ready to burst. It may be imagined that, if they thieve not, it is because they set too much importance on theft, and are afraid that, if they indulge in it, disposed, as they are, to defend their booty by force, they would soon lose the confidence and the trade of strangers. It may therefore be said that, if climate has an influence on the character and manners of nations, this influence is not uniform; and that other causes, no doubt, destroy or modify its effects. The generality of principle presents itself to the mind as a point of rest which it is eager to seize; but it seldom happens that assiduous observation does not one day lead to the discovery of exceptions.

What I have just said of the propensity which the Tchinkitanayans would have for theft, may appear hazarded; and the reader has a right to ask me for proofs: the French had not, in this respect,

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respect, any serious reproaches to make them; but Captain DIXON who was the first that brought us acquainted with them, had reason to complain of them in this particular. Speaking of NORFOLK Sound, the Editor of his Journal says: "At first, "the natives behaved civilly enough, and suffered "our people to follow their various employments "unmolested; but they soon grew very trouble- "some, and attempted to pick their pockets, and "even to steal their saws and axes in the most "open, daring manner; indeed, they could scarce- "ly be restrained from these proceedings with- "out violence; but this it was neither our inte- "rest or inclination to offer, if it could possibly be "avoided. Our people were never sent on shore "without being well armed; and, luckily, the "sight of a few muskets kept them in a kind of "awe, as they had frequently seen Captain DIXON "shoot birds, which had given them an idea of the "fatal effects of fire-arms *."

Thus acquainted with the sudden and murderous execution of a weapon which is not formidable in appearance, they, doubtless, wished not to expose themselves to experience its effect on their own persons, and they desisted from every attempt at theft. It is probable that the warning which the Tchinkitanayans had received from the English, rendered them less enterprising with the French: it

* See *Dixon's Voyage*, page 183 and following.

may be imagined too that their interest, which they understand very well, has recommended to them to keep terms with strangers from whom they have much to receive, and to whom, in fact, they give in return only what cost them nothing. However, the navigators who may land at TCHINKIT-ANAY should neither rely on the honesty nor even on the interest of its inhabitants: it is not perhaps doing them injustice, to say that they will steal when the hope of impunity may embolden them. One of them attempted it once on board of the SOLIDE, and checked himself because he was perceived: another time, two canoes, which had come softly, approached the ship at eleven o'clock at night, and answered not when they were hailed, but made a precipitate retreat; and as traffic was never prolonged after sunset, and as the natives all returned on shore before night, it cannot be doubted that, if those who were in the canoes could have hoped that every one was fast asleep on board, they would have attempted to thieve, perhaps to make themselves masters of the ship, after having murdered her crew*.

According

* Surgeon *Robbi* says that the French had not to complain of any bad treatment; that, several times, walking by himself, and having advanced into the wood as far as the difficulty of penetrating into it would allow, he there met some Americans alone, who, rising from under a tree, or from beneath its roots, seemed to come suddenly out of the ground: they were unarmed, and made no attempt; but he suspects that they thus placed

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According to Captain Dixon's Journal, the natives of TCHINKITÂNAY in their make, shape, and features, greatly resemble those of Port MULGRAVE; and the language of both these people appears to be nearly the same; but, in manners and disposition, the Tchinkitanayans approach nearer to the natives who occupy the banks of Cook's River, which, in regard to TCHINKITÂNAY, is situated more to the northward, and much more to the westward than Port MULGRAVE*.

To terminate the detail of the notions which the Europeans have been able to acquire respecting the natives of TCHINKITÂNAY Bay, it remains for me to speak of their language of which Captain CHANAL's journal presents us a vocabulary, very circumscribed indeed, but which is sufficient to give an idea of it †.

The language of the Tchinkitanayans differs absolutely from that of the natives of NOOTKA, settled on the same coast, about seven degrees of latitude, or one hundred and forty leagues to the southward of the former ‡, and of that of QUEEN CHARLOTTE's Islands, which, being no more than

placed themselves in his way designedly, and that, had they not seen him well armed, they might have been more enterprising.

* *Dixon's Voyage*, pages 186, 187, and 191.

† It will be found in vol. ii. at the end of this narrative.

‡ In *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. iii. page 540, is a vocabulary of the language of Nootka Sound by *Anderson*.

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about twenty leagues from the continent at their greatest distance, occupy two degrees and a half of latitude between the parallel of NOOTKA and that of TCHINKITÂNAY.

Numerical terms presenting abstract ideas, and affording no clue to imitative words, which chance may sometimes introduce into two idioms, in other respects very different, we are certain that, when the terms which express numbers, are the same in two languages, these languages are only dialects of a mother-tongue; and, from a contrary reason, we can affirm that, when these terms have no affinity between them, from one language to another, these two languages have not originally belonged to the same. I shall therefore, in order to prove that the idiom of NOOTKA and that of TCHINKITÂNAY have no affinity, confine myself here to comparing between them the analogous terms which, in both, express numerical quantities. I shall bring into the same point of view, by anticipation, the analogous terms of the idiom of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands; and although this group is situated in a middle position between that of TCHINKITÂNAY and that of NOOTKA, and is not far distant from the continent, it will be seen that the numerical terms of the language spoken by its inhabitants, bear no resemblance to the terms which correspond to them in the other parts of the same coast.

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The reader may compare with each other the other terms of **NOOTKA** and of **TCHINKITANAY**, by comparing the vocabulary given by Captain **COOK**, with that compiled by Captain **CHANAL**; it will be found that the languages of the tribes which are settled on these two points, have between them no affinity.

Numbers.	Nootka Sound *.		Tchinikitany.		Queen Charlotte's Islands.
	According to Cook, Vol. II. p. 336.	According to Dixon, page 241.	French Pronunciation according to CHANAL.	English Pronunciation according to DIXON.	French Pronunciation according to CHANAL.
1	Tiavack	-	Clërrg	Tlaafh.	Saonchon.
2	Akklā	-	Tërrk	Taafch.	Stonk.
3	Katfifa	-	Nõtch	Noofh.	Sibonès.
4	Mo or Moo	-	Tācoun	Tackoon.	Stanchon.
5	Sochah	-	Kitchin	Keichin.	Clëtz.
6	Nofpo	-	Kletoufchou	Cletufchufh.	Clounetch.
7	Atflepoo	-	Takrratoufchou	Takatufchuch.	Sguat.
8	Altaquolthl	-	Nëtkatoufchou	Noofchatufchufh.	Stafchan-ha.
9	Tiawaquulthl	-	Nëtkatoufchou	Koofchuch.	Quenſchānſichtou.
10	Hæcœo	-	Tchin Kart	Chincart.	Clafch.
20	-	-	Clërr-Kat	-	Nouffonāntion.
40	-	-	Tërr-Kat	-	-

* If the reader compare the numerical terms of *Nootka*, such as they are written by *Cook* with the same terms such

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The arithmetic of the Tchinkitanayans is peculiar to them ; after having reckoned as far as ten, they recommence by one ; at the end of the second half-score, they pronounce the word *Clèrr-Kat* which signifies twenty, and they mark the first score by raising the fore finger ; they then begin again to reckon as far as twice ten, and they raise the middle finger, at the same time pronouncing *Tèrr-Kat*, which is translated by the second twenty, or forty. Our voyagers were not able to ascertain whether they have numerical terms beyond this number ; but it is evident that with the help of their ten fingers, they can, with-

as the Editor of *Dixon's* voyage has written them, he will be convinced that two Englishmen do not hear and write in the same manner the words pronounced by a savage. He will see in the words of *Tchinkitanay*, the different manner in which they are heard and written by a Frenchman and an Englishman : the Frenchman understands and writes *Clèrrg* ; the Englishman, *Tlaafch* (which is pronounced *Tlaafque* in French) : the Frenchman, *Tèrrk* ; the Englishman, *Noûsch* (*Noûsque* in French) : the differences are not here owing to those of orthography ; for an Englishman who reads the word *Tlaafch*, will never emit a sound which resembles that of the *Clèrrg* of the French, &c. They are owing to the different manner in which the words were heard. There are, however, several of those of *Tchinkitanay*, which, although written differently, on account of the difference of orthography, will give the same sounds, if they be pronounced, that of the French orthography, by a Frenchman, and that of the English, by an Englishman ; such are *Tacoun* French, and *Tackoon* English ; *Kitchin* French, and *Keichin* English ; *Tchinkart* French, and *Chincart* English ; and the four words which answer to the numbers 6, 7, 8 and 9 differ very little.

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out difficulty, carry their numeration as far as ten times twenty or two hundred, that, by adding to them the ten toes, they can raise it to four hundred; that, in the great calculations of their traffic, by making use of the hands and feet of their wife, they can reckon as far as eight hundred; and that, in short, if they wish to employ in their arithmetic, one, two, or three of their children, they can, without going out of the family, contrive to reckon as far as twelve hundred, sixteen hundred, and two thousand: this is more, no doubt, than their trade can require.

Their language is excessively harsh and uncouth: most of their articulations require a strong nasal aspiration and a guttural effort, particularly to produce on the *K*'s a rather hard lisping, and on the *G* an imperceptible trill which a French throat cannot imitate. They experience some difficulty in articulating two of our linguadental letters *N* and *D*, which appear, indeed, to require in a more marked manner, that the tongue should rest against the teeth in order to produce them; but they cannot succeed in articulating two of our labials, *F* and *V*. A great number of their words begin by a *K*, strongly pronounced from the throat; this same letter is met with even three times in the same word; which contributes not a little to the harshness of their language.

Surgeon ROBLET, on his part, compiled a vocabulary of the language of the Tchinkitanayans, which

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which will be found, joined to that of Captain CHANAL, in a distinct column, in order that the reader may, with facility, recognize the differences that exist in the manner in which each of them writes the same word and wishes it to be pronounced. "It will easily be perceived," says Surgeon ROULET, "by the few words which I have been able to collect, that this language is extremely copious and varied: if the ear be struck by a word which a stranger has not yet heard pronounced, he is certain that it expresses an article which has not yet been mentioned. This copiousness is particularly remarked in the words which express all the exterior parts of the human body: the most imperceptible of these parts is expressed by a name which is peculiar to it. I might," adds he, "have given some examples of this, if the difficulty of rendering them well in writing, and first that of understanding them well, and of finding a favourable opportunity for learning them, had not deprived me of the possibility of doing it. I am ignorant whether the names of the new things which the Europeans have brought them, have been borrowed from any other language, or whether the natives have applied to these articles the names of those which formerly served them for the same uses; but it is certain that all the tools, utensils, dresses, &c. which I saw in their possession, are each of them designated

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“ signated by a particular name. I could wish
 “ to have it in my power to expose to the eye the
 “ hieroglyphic figures which they employ for or-
 “ namenting their canoes, their boxes, and the
 “ other little articles of furniture in use among
 “ them, and the characters of which they had
 “ themselves rudely sketched on the paper where
 “ I was writing the words as they explained them
 “ to me : I thought I saw the figures which chil-
 “ dren draw, when, to make use of the expression
 “ of their age, “ *they are making men.*”

Are these hieroglyphic figures to the Tchinkitanayans a species of writing ? It is well known that hieroglyphics were the first writing of several nations : they are the universal written language ; this is truly the art of painting the thought, of speaking to the eyes ; and every one, at the sight of the object, emits the sounds which it is agreed to employ for speaking to the ear.

I should be apprehensive of deserving the reproach of having extended, to too great a length, the details which I have just given concerning the manners, the customs, and the character of the Americans who occupy TCHINKITANAY Bay, if it were not known that the moment when Europeans communicate, for the first time, with newly-discovered people is that for studying them : at a later period, the intercourse of strangers produces changes in the natural habits of these people ; presently the primitive features con-
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founded with the new, and adulterated by this mixture, become imperceptible, and end by escaping observation. It is by partial studies, it is by contemplating the man of every country under his first cover, and, as it were, in his original dress, that we shall be able to succeed in graduating the scale of human intelligence, by ascending from the stupid *Pefferai*, who knows only how to shiver on the TIERRA DEL FUEGO, or the wild Hottentot, who differs little from the *man of the woods*, to the genius who created the *ILIAD*, or him who anatomized light, and submitted to calculation the laws of gravity.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE from Tchinkitânay.—Examination of Cloak Bay, of Cox's Strait, and of part of the west coast of the islands named by the English Queen Charlotte's Islands, and previously discovered by La Pérouse.—Discovery of three good harbours on this coast.—Trade for furs.—Description of these islands and of their inhabitants.—Arrival off Nootka Sound.—Captain Marchand relinquishes the project of anchoring there, and shapes his course for China.

THE contrariety of the winds did not allow the SOLIDE to quit TCHINKITÂNAY Bay before the 21st of August. Captain MARCHAND set sail again in the afternoon of that day, and directed his course to the south-east, in order to reconnoitre QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, the north point of which is situated in a latitude less northerly by $2^{\circ} 40'$ than that of TCHINKITÂNAY. Frenchmen will see with pleasure in LA PÉROUSE'S journal, that he anticipated the English in the discovery which, towards the middle of the year 1786, he made of these lands, the bays, mountains, and capes of which he designates by French names: and if I employ those which were

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* See the I
Guise, 1786—
Duncan, 1787.

subsequently given them by Captain Dixon, who did not discover them till the month of July 1787, it is because the journal of the French navigator not being yet published, these lands are as yet known only by the names which are found in the printed voyages of the English navigators *.

These islands are considered as belonging to that portion of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, situated between the fiftieth and the fifty-sixth parallels, from which contrary winds repelled Captain Cook, and of which they prevented him from getting sight. They occupy about seventy leagues in length, on a north-west and south-east line. DIXON, who made them in the north-west part, at first took them for a portion of the continent; but, having coasted them on the west side, he came to the southern extremity of the group which he doubled; and, then standing to the northward, he ascertained that, in the part which he was able to explore on the east side, they are about twenty leagues distant from the continent of AMERICA. He neither anchored on the east, nor the west coast; but the concourse of natives, arriving from all quarters, from the former of these coasts, in their ticklish canoes, was so considerable, their eagerness to barter their furs for European utensils and commodities was so great,

* See the Introduction—*La Pérouse*, 1786—*Lowrie* and *Guise*, 1786—*Portlock* and *Dixon*, 1786, 1787—*Colnett* and *Duncan*, 1787.

that, in the space of a month, and constantly under sail, he contrived to procure eighteen hundred and twenty-one skins of different animals, the greater part of which were of prime quality *.

Since Captain DIXON's voyage, Captain DUNCAN and other English navigators have visited this group, which is known to be composed of three principal islands, and they have explored some of the channels which separate them. It cannot be doubted that, since the publication of the voyages of COOK, PORTLOCK, and DIXON, of DUNCAN, MEARES, and DOUGLAS, ENGLAND who eagerly grasped at this new branch of commerce, and was on the point of going to war with SPAIN in order to maintain her footing on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, has acquired, respecting this quarter, fresh information, of which, no doubt, she does not wish to make a mystery to other nations; but we shall not be able to learn what perfection the geography and history of the New World have acquired through this channel, till peace, that peace which is the wish of every heart, shall have opened again to the sciences a free communication between all the nations of EUROPE.

On quitting TCHINKITANAY Bay, on the 21st of August, Captain MARCHAND had a favourable wind between the north by west and north-north-

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 198 to 229.

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west (allowing for the variation), which, in a little time, carried him off the northern part of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands; and he got sight of them on the 22d at seven o'clock in the evening, to the south-east, at eight or nine leagues, distance.

The next day, at a quarter before six in the morning, he distinguished the bay which Captain DIXON named CLOAK BAY, because, in the space of half an hour, he had there traded for a great number of cloaks, containing together upwards of three hundred prime beaver-skins. The wind prevented Captain DIXON from anchoring there; he carried on his traffic under sail; and, from a view of the land and the aspect which it presented, he was persuaded that the opening before which he found himself, was that of a great bay which might afford good anchorage. But, in 1789 *, Captain DOUGLAS, commanding the IPHIGENIA, discovered that this bay, the greatest opening of which faces the west, is terminated to the eastward, by a strait that separates the North Island, which is not more than seven or eight miles in length on a north-north-west and south-south-east line, from the northern coast of the largest of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands. DOUGLAS named this strait, COX'S CHANNEL, anchored there occasionally, traded with the natives, and traversed it from east to west. It ap-

* See *Mearns's Voyages*, pages 365 and following.

pears, however, that the first discovery of this passage belongs to Captain GRAY, master of the American sloop WASHINGTON.

Captain MARCHAND who had sailed from MARSEILLES at the end of 1790, could not have any knowledge of Cox's Strait or Channel, with which we were acquainted in FRANCE only by the voyage of Captain DOUGLAS, that forms a part of those which Captain MEARES did not publish in LONDON till towards the end of this same year. But the information which Captain DIXON has given us of CLOAK Bay, or that which DOUGLAS's voyage gives us of Cox's Strait or Channel, is limited, as to the former, to his not suffering us to be ignorant that he there made, in the course of a few minutes, a rich harvest of beaver-skins; and as to the latter, that his trade, though not so advantageous, was nevertheless satisfactory; that the women who had come on board for the amusement of the people, discovered to him a plot of the natives who were to attempt to make themselves masters of the vessel; and that the artillery did justice on them when they presented themselves for carrying it into execution. But neither DIXON nor DOUGLAS have made us acquainted either with the country or its inhabitants; this is a new country, these are men unknown to EUROPE whom the journal of the French presents to us: and if ENGLAND have not received farther details respecting this part of QUEEN

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CHARLOTTE's Islands, it may be said that she has informed us of the existence of the bay and channel which her navigators discovered the first, and on which they have imposed names; but that ours will inform her what is the nature, what are the productions of the country, and by what men it is inhabited.

No canoe belonging to the islanders having presented itself when the SOLIDE appeared at the opening of CLOAK Bay, the barge, after having been provided with a few articles for trade, was dispatched under the command of Captain CHANAL, accompanied by Lieutenant MURAT, Surgeon ROBLET, and Volunteer D'ECANY, in order to visit CLOAK Bay, to examine its circumference, and ascertain whether any part of its coast afforded a good anchorage. The ship, during this expedition, was to continue lying to or standing off and on, at the opening of the bay.

This examination appears to have been executed with the greatest care. The plan which Captain CHANAL drew of CLOAK Bay and of Cox's Channel, which he discovered and visited, will bring the reader better acquainted with both, if he will cast his eye over it, than the description which will be given*.

The west opening of CLOAK Bay, if a vessel be placed nearly north and south of the north-west

* See Plate V.

point of the great island, and in mid-channel, is situated in $54^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude and in $135^{\circ} 58'$ west longitude *. This position is more northerly by two minutes on DIXON's chart; and the longitude there differs from that which has just been mentioned, by being eighteen minutes less.

In 1787, the English navigator observed the variation of the magnetic needle to be $24^{\circ} 28'$ east; and in 1791, the observations made on board of the SOLIDE gave $28^{\circ} 2'$: we found a similar difference between the variations observed by DIXON and by MARCHAND at TCHINKITÂNAY; they may be owing to the difference of the instruments, or to the different manner of observing.

Captain CHANAL sounded the bay in different parts; he found from thirty to eighteen fathoms, over a bottom of soft rock and shells, in other places white sand, and sometimes small pebbles. This bay, which is a league in depth by a width somewhat smaller, is perfectly sheltered from winds from the north, south, and east quarters; but it is entirely open to winds from the westward.

The mouth of Cox's Channel, which opens into the bay, is not more than three quarters of a mile in width, and is still narrowed by a reef and a tolerably extensive bank which runs off from the south coast or the large island, and reduces the

* See Note XLI.

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passage, in the west entrance, to a breadth of three cables' length at most. But, in the narrowest part, the soundings are from thirty-two to forty fathoms over a bottom of hard sand and broken shells. The north coast of the narrow entrance, or the southern coast of the NORTH Island, is safe and bold. A small island, two thirds of a mile long by a mile broad, situated in the east part of the strait, divides it into two arms of unequal length, the narrowest to the northward, the broadest to the southward of the small island. The SOLIDE's boat went up the former arm which separates the small island from the NORTH Island: it was found that, if the quality of the bottom was not so bad, this arm would form an excellent harbour; but, all along the coast, at the distance proper for anchoring, the depth of water was from twenty to thirty fathoms, over a bottom of live coral, red or white, which would damage the cables. In the great channel, to the southward of the small island, were found thirty fathoms water, with a rocky bottom. Captain CHANAL having reached the east mouth of the strait, perceived an illot to the east by south, at about the distance of a mile from the mouth of the opening, and, two miles and a quarter to the north-east, a rock even with the water's edge, which may be a mile and a quarter distant from the east coast of the NORTH Island. At the same time, the northern coast of the large island, to the southward of the

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strait,

strait, was seen to extend to the eastward for two leagues and a half or three leagues.

Captain CHANAL thought it proper to terminate here an examination the object of which had been solely to ascertain whether COX'S Channel afforded any anchorage where the SOLIDE could find a safe shelter from the wind and sea: the soundings proved that the depth of water was sufficient; but the bad quality of the bottom did not allow of risking anchors on it.

While the boat was employed in the morning in taking the soundings of CLOAK Bay, she had been accosted by three canoes containing about thirty Americans, men, women, and children, who had come from the northern coast of the great island, on which were distinguished some habitations. These islanders were without arms, and announced peaceable dispositions; but they offered nothing to barter but some fresh fish and a few old skins. On recollecting the plentiful harvest which Captain DIXON, in the space of half an hour, had made off this very CLOAK Bay, our voyagers had hoped, if not for equal success, at least for an indemnification for the time which had been employed in examining it; but every hope vanished, when the natives gave them to understand that a vessel, which had visited their coast very recently, had obtained all the furs that they possessed.

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In the afternoon, at the moment when Captain CHANAL was setting out from COX'S Channel to re-enter CLOAK Bay, the boat was joined by other canoes; their arrival revived the hope that, if a few inhabitants were collected, he might be able to procure some furs from them. He therefore determined to turn back, and land on the west point of that island, two thirds of a mile long by one third broad, which divides into two arms COX'S Channel or Strait.

[On this small island, Captain CHANAL perceived some palisades which appeared to be the work of Europeans; and he had the curiosity to examine them closely. He found that they form the enclosure of a platform of moderate elevation, resting on one side against the rock, and supported at certain distances by stakes, rafters, and other pieces of wood forming the frame of a building, well put together and well contrived: he ascended it by a staircase made out of the trunk of a tree. On examination, he judged this monument, with every thing that belongs to it, to be the produce of the arts of the WEST part of NORTH AMERICA: the wood bore the impression of time and age; and this evidence against which no objection can be made, did not allow it to be supposed that the construction was modern, or the work of Europeans who might have anchored in the bay. He here remarked several boxes without a lid, the use of which the islanders explained: these perform

*Queen
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perform the office of a drum from which they draw a sound, by striking with the fist against the outer sides. But what particularly attracted the attention of the French, and well deserved to fix it, were two pictures each of which eight or nine feet long, by five high, was composed only of two planks put together. On one of these pictures, is seen represented, in colours rather lively, red, black, and green, the different parts of the human body, painted separately; and the whole surface is covered with them. The latter picture appears to be a copy of the former, or perhaps it is the original: it is difficult to decide to which of the two belongs the priority, so much are the features of both effaced by age. The natives gave Captain CHANAL to understand that these pictures are called *Caniak* in their language; and this is all that he could get from them. They remind us of those paintings, those large pictures of MEXICO the descriptions and drawings of which the Spanish historians have transmitted to us: and the tribes that inhabit the islands which, at this moment, engage our attention, might very probably not have been, at all times, as great strangers to the Mexicans as they may have become since the destruction of the empire.

From the examination which was made of the sort of redoubt where are deposited these two monuments of an ancient date, it was not supposed, although

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although it appeared very susceptible of being defended against an enemy who might wish to attack it, that the object of the islanders has been to secure there for themselves a retreat, a place of refuge in case of attack ; Captain CHANAL judged, from some information which he was able to obtain from them, and which he thought he understood, that it was rather a place consecrated to religious ceremonies, or public diversions, or perhaps to both uses.]

The islanders withdrew about three o'clock in the afternoon, after having exchanged the few furs which they possessed, consisting of five otter skins, some of cub otters, some old otter cloaks, and one only of beaver. The French might also have procured two fine skins ; but the proprietor required, in exchange, woollen jackets and blankets, and none of those articles had been put into the boat. The Americans, before they withdrew, had given them to understand, pointing to the eastern part of the north coast of the large island, that, if their visitors would stop a few days, they would go and hunt in that quarter, and thence bring back a great quantity of furs.

In the course of the day, Captain CHANAL had had a communication with seven or eight canoes, which might carry in the whole sixty individuals of all ages and of both sexes ; but, to judge from the number of huts which he distinguished on the borders

borders of the channel, he reckoned that he had seen but a small part of its inhabitants.

The boat was clear of CLOAK Bay at six o'clock in the evening. Captain CHANAL perceived the SOLIDE standing to the northward; he followed her till eight o'clock, without being able to overtake her; and night concealed her from his view. The ship, having got too near the breakers of the coast, had neither been able to shorten sail, nor to put about in order to come and meet the boat. At nine o'clock, Captain CHANAL determined to re-enter CLOAK Bay for the purpose of there passing the night. He looked for shelter behind a small island which is situated to the north-east of the bay, and which is separated from the south-west coast of the NORTH island, only by a small channel that presented to the boat a snug harbour, sheltered from the wind which blew from the westward, and a beach of small pebbles, where he and his party landed very conveniently. This place was separated, in this part, from the habitations of the islanders by the whole breadth of the NORTH Island: here they took up their quarters, and passed a very quiet night.

The next day, at noon, the boat returned on board of the SOLIDE.

On Captain CHANAL's report to Captain MARCHAND, that they might hope to trade for some furs in Cox's Channel, the long-boat was equipped and furnished with provisions for three days, arms
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of different forts, and various articles for trade; nine of the crew were selected to man her; and she was detached at five o'clock in the evening under the command of Captain CHANAL who was accompanied, as on the former occasion, by Lieutenant MURAT, Surgeon ROBLET, and Volunteer DÉCANY. The day was too far spent for them to enter the channel; they therefore anchored behind the small island where they had so quietly passed the preceding night.

On the 25th, before day-break, they proceeded towards Cox's Channel; and, as soon as they had reached its eastern part, they fired several muskets in order to announce to the islanders the arrival of strangers. But the whole morning was lost in vain expectation: they saw only a single canoe conducted by two women who came and joined the French in a small cove where they had landed, and which is situated on the southern coast of the NORTH Island. These women gave them to understand that the natives to whom the habitations, which were seen on the coast, belonged, were gone a hunting, and that it would not be long before they brought back the produce of their sport.

Waiting for their return, Captain CHANAL and his party availed themselves of the good will of a chief of the district, who had offered to accompany them, and they employed the time in visiting two habitations, situated on this part of the coast, and built

built on a plan nearly uniform. In describing them, I shall blend the separate descriptions given by Captain CHANAL and Surgeon ROBLET, and form of them but one; they are the same in the main, and differ only by some details which are met with in the one, and are not to be found in the other.

The form of these habitations is that of a regular parallelogram, from forty-five to fifty feet in front by thirty-five in depth. Six, eight, or ten trees, cut and planted in the ground on each front, form the enclosure of a habitation, and are fastened to each other, by planks ten inches in width by three or four in thickness, which are solidly joined to the stakes, by tenons and mortices. The partitions, six or seven feet high, are surmounted by a roof, a little sloped, the summit of which is raised from ten to twelve feet above the ground. These partitions and the roofing are faced with planks, each of which is about two feet wide. In the middle of the roof, is made a large square opening which affords, at once, both entrance to the light, and issue to the smoke. There are also a few small windows open on the sides. These houses have two stories, although one only be visible. The second is under ground, or rather its upper part, or ceiling, is even with the surface of the spot in which the stakes are driven. It consists of a cellar about five feet in depth, dug in the inside of the habitation,

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tion, at the distance of six feet from the walls throughout the whole of the circumference. The descent to it is by three or four steps made in the platform of earth which is reserved between the foundations of the walls and the cellar; and these steps, of earth well beaten, are cased with planks which prevent the soil from falling in. Beams laid across, and covered with thick planks, form the upper floor of this subterraneous story, which preserves from moisture the outer story whose floor is on a level with the ground. The guide of the French explained to them that the cellar is the winter habitation.

The entrance-door of these edifices deserves a particular description.

This door, the threshold of which is raised about a foot and a half above the ground, is of an elliptical figure; the great diameter, which is given by the height of the opening, is not more than three feet, and the small diameter, or the breadth, is not more than two: it may be conceived that it is not very convenient to enter the house by this oval. This opening is made in the thickness of a large trunk of a tree which rises perpendicularly in the middle of one of the fronts of the habitation, and occupies the whole of its height: it imitates the form of a gaping human mouth, or rather that of a beast, and it is surmounted by a

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hooked nose *, about two feet in length, proportioned, in point of size, to the monstrous face to which it belongs. It might therefore be imagined that, in the language of the inhabitants of the NORTH island of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Isles, the door of the house is called *the mouth*: and if we chose to go back to an ancient people with whom we are better acquainted than with this, we should find that the root of the word *ostium*, door, is *Os*, mouth; and it is well known that the Latins say indifferently *Os* or *Ostium fluminis*; and the French, indifferently too, the *entrance* or the *mouth* of a river, the *mouths* of the RHONE, the *mouths* of the NILE, &c. Over the door, is seen the figure of a man carved, in the attitude of a child in the womb, and remarkable for the extreme smallness of the parts which characterize his sex; and above this figure, rises a gigantic statue of a man erect, which terminates the sculpture and the decoration of the portal; the head of this statue is dressed with a cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, the height of which is almost equal to that of the figure itself. On the parts of the surface which are not occupied by the capital subjects, are interspersed carved figures of frogs or toads, lizards, and other ani-

* It has been seen, in page 334 of this volume, that the grotesque heads which, in the extraordinary dress of the Tchinkitanayans, are applied over the knees, bear in like manner a hooked nose of an immoderate size.

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male, and arms, legs, thighs, and other parts of the human body : a stranger might imagine that he saw the *ex voto* suspended to the door-case of the niche of a *Madona*.

On comparing these pieces of sculpture to those large pictures which had been seen the day before in a place which appears consecrated to a Supreme Being, we should be tempted to believe that these various figures are emblems which are connected with the religion of this people. But how inquire into the matter when the voyager is ignorant of the language of the country? All that Captain CHANAL and his party could comprehend from the answers which the chief of the district who accompanied them, was pleased to give to the questions that they had endeavoured to make him understand, is that the erect figure, placed above each portal, and to which every thing that is below appears to serve as a pedestal, is the image of a chief who was held veneration in the country. It is recalling the arts to their real institution, to appropriate them to honour virtue, and to perpetuate the memory of men who have deserved well of their fellow-creatures.

These works of sculpture cannot undoubtedly be compared, in any respect, to the master-pieces of which ancient ROME stripped GREECE, and of which ITALY, in her turn, has been stripped by FRANCE; but can we avoid being astonished to find them so numerous on an island which is not

perhaps more than six leagues in circumference, where population is not extensive, and among a nation of hunters? And is not our astonishment increased, when we consider the progress this people have made in architecture? What instinct, or rather what genius it has required to conceive and execute solidly, without the knowledge of the succours by which mechanism makes up for the weakness of the improved man, those edifices, those heavy frames of buildings of fifty feet in extent by eleven in elevation? Men who choose not to be astonished at any thing will say: The beaver also builds his house: yes, but he does not adorn it; but nature has given to the beaver the instrument necessary for building it: she has certainly placed the man of the forests in the middle of the materials with which he constructs his; but he has been under the necessity of creating, of varying the tools without which he could not employ those materials! A sharp stone, hasted on a branch of a tree, the bone of a quadruped, the bone of one fish, the rough skin of another; instruments more fit to exercise patience than to help industry, and which would have been ineffectual in seconding his efforts, if fire which he discovered, and the action of which he learnt to regulate and direct, had not come to the assistance of genius of which he is the image, and of art which executes through the impulse of genius. When we examine the whole of the operations necessary for contriving

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• *Voyage*
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† See in *Co
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contriving to finish one of the edifices which I have just described; when we reflect on this assemblage of useful arts and of those which are merely agreeable, we are forced to acknowledge that these arts have not taken birth in the small island where they are cultivated: they come from a greater distance.

The distinction between the winter habitation and that of summer, recalls to mind the custom of the Kamtschadales who have their *balagans* for summer, and their *jourts* for winter*; the former erected on several posts or pillars twelve or thirteen feet in height, and the latter dug in the ground and covered with a roof: it is even remarked that some of the *balagans* have an oval door†. But let us observe that the country of these Kamtschadales, KAMTSCHATKA, is a peninsula in the NORTH-EAST of ASIA: and if we thus find in the islands adjoining to the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, both the houses of northern ASIA, and the pictures of MEXICO, is it too bold a conjecture, to suppose that the inhabitants of this NORTH-WEST coast transplanted originally from ASIA to AMERICA, and arrived as far as MEXICO, where they founded an empire, have abandoned

* *Voyage de M. de Marchand*. Paris. Imp. Royale. 1790, 8vo. vol. i. pages 26 and 27.

† See in Cook's *Third Voyage*, a view of the *balagans* and *jourts*, Plate 77. I quote this work, because it is in every one's possession.

their new country on the arrival of the Europeans, and flocked back to those very coasts which they had occupied after their transmigration from ASIA? These indications of the former and latter origin which we may ascribe to them by supposition, would lead us to explanations which will find their place after I have terminated the account of Captain MARCHAND's operations at QUEEN CHARLOTTE's Islands, and given the description of the part of these islands which the French visited.

When Captain CHANAL had before taken the soundings of the south arm of Cox's Channel, he had had an opportunity of examining some of the habitations which are erected on its southern side, the north coast of the great island; they neither are so large nor so handsome as those of the NORTH Island, and are not decorated with the superb portal in sculpture which distinguishes the habitations of this latter island; but, in other respects, they differ not from them either in form, style of architecture, general disposition, or furniture.

In the vicinity of the habitations which Captain CHANAL had just visited, were scattered here and there a few huts which appeared to be only temporary establishments of the natives of some other island, who, attracted by trade, had removed to the NORTH Island: the inhabitants of

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QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands *, like those of TCHINKITANAY, always carry in their canoes, stakes, planks, and large strips of bark, which are employed for forming occasionally, and on the first piece of ground that presents itself, a shelter against the snow and rain; these are, as it were, travelling necessaries which, during summer, they put together in the places where a more easy or more abundant chace induces them to make some stay. But, during winter, they inhabit for a constancy their palaces, which they render still more impenetrable to the cold by the addition of the planks and strips of bark which compose their temporary habitations.

At some distance from these palaces, were perceived several mausolea or tombs which bear much resemblance to the *morais* of the islands of the GREAT OCEAN. These monuments are of two sorts †; the first and more simple are composed only of a single post about ten feet in height, and a foot in diameter, on the summit of which are fixed planks forming a small platform; and in some this platform is supported by two posts. The body, deposited on this platform, is covered with moss and large stones. The chief whom Surgeon ROBLET questioned respecting one of these tombs which was seen not far from his habitation, gave him to understand that it was the tomb

* Observations of Roblet. † *Ibid.*

of one of his children for whom he had long mourned. The mausolea of the second fort are more complex: four posts planted in the ground, and raised two feet only above it, bear a sarcophagus wrought with art and hermetically closed. It might be supposed that the latter contain the bodies of the chiefs of families or tribes.

The Americans who occupy the part which the French visited of the small NORTH Island, seem to have a decided taste for architecture, and confine not their labours in this way to building themselves habitations, spacious, convenient, and disposed for securing men and provisions from the cold and rain; they also construct edifices which appear to belong to no one in particular. Surgeon ROBLET says that he was not able to ascertain what are their ideas concerning a Supreme Being; whether they acknowledge one; what worship they pay him, nor even whether they pay him any; but they have temples. He saw in one place the ruins of one of these monuments, and in another, a temple standing, which cannot be of very ancient construction. It is on an elevated spot, and insulated, as much as possible, that the American builds what we call his temple. Some strong posts, six or eight feet high, form an enclosure in which are preserved all the tall trees that are there standing; but all the shrubs are carefully torn up; and the ground is every where put in order and well beaten. In the middle of this enclosure,

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enclosure, where a cave is sometimes made, is seen a square and uncovered edifice; it is constructed with handsome planks, the workmanship of which is admirable; and a stranger cannot behold without astonishment that these planks are twenty-five feet in length, by four feet in breadth and two inches and a half in thickness. What a time it must have required to prepare and finish them with the sort of tools which are employed in this work!

On considering this agrestic temple, I cannot abstain from making a few reflections.

The custom of building temples on elevated spots, on *high places*, appears as general as it is ancient: man, in ascending the heights, in detaching himself, in a manner, from the earth, has therefore imagined that he was drawing nearer to the Supreme Being to whom he addresses his homages and his requests; it is therefore in heaven that he assigns him his residence.

These tall trees which the Americans reserve in the enclosure of their temples recall to mind the sacred woods of our Druids; but we do not see here, as in the GAULS, that chiefs unite the priesthood to political power, practise physic, and have at their disposal every thing that can strengthen their authority, hope and fear. Neither does any thing appear to announce that, if they acknowledge a being superior to man, that being, cruel and always angry, like the God TEUTATES, demands that, to appease him, human victims should be

be sacrificed : and it seems to me that this portion of AMERICA, so little favoured in other respects, might, under this double consideration, have in its natural state some advantage over our EUROPE in its primitive one.

I observe too that sometimes a cave is made in the enclosure of the temple ; I am ignorant of the use of it ; but at least nothing indicates that it can be a catacomb. The nations who have listened only to Nature, have not thought of heaping under the pavement of an edifice consecrated to the divinity, rotten carcases the pestilential emanations of which infect the holy spot and drive away from it the living ; they burnt their dead, or suffered them to decay in the open air.

I remark, in short, that these temples are uncovered ; like the Temple of the JUPITER OLYMPIUS at ATHENS, or like that of the JUPITER CAPITOLINUS at ROME they are open at the top : no doubt the American wishes not to be deprived of the sight of heaven when he invokes the Great Being whom he supposes to reside there : ABEL and ABRAHAM sacrificed on a stone to the God of the Universe ; a trunk of a tree was the first altar ; and a field, the first temple.

The little excursion which the French had made in the vicinity of the cove where their long-boat was at anchor, occupied them usefully by procuring them the means of acquiring some knowledge of a country of which Captain DIXON's Journal has given

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given us but some very vague, very incomplete, and very unsatisfactory notions, such as might be expected from a navigator who did not set his foot on shore, and who saw men only for moments, and things only at a distance. This employment made them wait without impatience the return of the hunters which had been announced to them as likely to be near at hand.

In fact, it appeared that the chase had not led the natives very far from their fixed settlements; for, a little time after noon, arrived ten canoes carrying about sixty individuals of all ages and of both sexes; but, between them all, they offered to barter only a single otter-skin, and two cloaks of the same fur half-worn.

Captain CHANAL and his party hoped that trade was going to assume a degree of activity when, in the evening, they saw some large canoes which had come from the eastward, land at a sandy cove situated on the southern coast of the NORTH Island, to the northward of the small island of the strait; and they immediately proceeded thither. Two handsome habitations presented themselves on the coast of this part of the island; and they there found assembled a rather considerable number of islanders, who, no doubt, belonged to one same tribe.

The chief of the canoes requested to be admitted into the long-boat, and to this Captain

CHANAL

CHANAL consented with pleasure. He purchased of him four fine otter-skins, of which the chief disposed, although it was very evident that they were not his own property. He at first asked in exchange muskets and powder; but Captain CHANAL positively refused to grant him any; and he then lowered their demand to jackets, trowsers, kettles, basins, and daggers. The natives appeared not inclined to make any other exchanges; but as the French had seen several of them convey skins from the canoes to the habitations, and as all of them expressed the greatest eagerness to detain the long-boat, Captain CHANAL hoped for a more abundant traffic the next morning, and he promised them that he would repair at day-light to the same cove. But he did not choose to pass the night on so populous a part of the coast, judging it more prudent to resume the anchoring station which he had occupied the two preceding nights.

The French were punctual to their appointment; yet they had been anticipated by the Americans. They were received by the same chief, with whom they had traded the evening before; but they were not a little astonished that he would scarcely deign to cast his eyes on the various articles which they displayed before him in order that he might make his choice: he contented himself, from time to time, with promising a great many furs, and always recurred to the expedient of

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of giving them to understand that they must *hope*. They perceived that, during this negociation, the plenipotentiary stole a brass bell which he dropped into the sea, very certain of finding it again when the strangers should retire. They pretended not to have noticed the theft; but they watched him so closely, that their vigilance disconcerted his assurance and dexterity: this is the only theft with which they have to reproach the inhabitants of this island.

The chief proposed to the French to visit his habitation; and they consented to this, in hopes of seeing there some furs, and of being able to determine him to conclude some bargain. He was extremely attentive in his behaviour to his guests, and in doing the honours of his house. He seized with singular intelligence all the questions which they endeavoured to make him understand, and most frequently he contrived to answer them. They admired his air of affability, his readiness to oblige, and an ease in his manners, which seemed not to belong to a class of men whom the Europeans still consider as savages. It could not be doubted, from the sight of all the European utensils which this people possess, and the clothes of different sorts some of which were already worn out, that they had a communication for years past with English navigators, and had received from them frequent visits: the facility with which

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which every individual pronounced the word *Engliffman*, which they often repeated, was fufficient to prove this. But it cannot be fuppofed that occasional and very fhort communications with fome feamen belonging to a civilized nation, can be capable of polishing the manners of a people, who, of themfelves, or from the effect of other more ancient communications with fome civilized nation, had not made a prior progrefs in civilization. All modern intercourfe with the Europeans may have had an influence on the drefs of thefe iflanders, and I have mentioned the caufe of it in fpeaking of the change which has taken place, in this refpect, among the Tchinkitanayans; it may have led them to adopt household utenfils whole fuperiority to thofe of which they made ufe, they have had no difficulty in difcovering; it may, indeed, have led them to receive with fatisfaction tools convenient to be handled, which abridge labour, the utility of which they have witneffed, and which they muft foon have preferred to their own awkward and ineffectual implements; but this momentary intercourfe, fubject to long interruptions, cannot have had an effect fo quick, a fenfible influence on their moral qualities and their manners: and if we choofe to fuppofe that, in this particular, this people owe fomething to the new acquaintances which they have made, it muft at leaft be admitted that the furplus is their portion, they derive it from nature, and from an ancient

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communication with some civilized nation in the origin of which theirs has, perhaps, been lost and confounded.

Captain CHANAL and his party availed themselves of the situation in which they were, and of the good will of the chief to whom they were paying a visit, in order to examine minutely the interior state of a habitation when it is actually occupied by the master of the house.

The fire is placed in the middle of the edifice ; there it is that the food is dressed. This same apartment fifty feet long, the frame and the general disposition of which I have described, serves, at once, for kitchen, dining-room, bed-chamber, store-house, and workshop, and also as a shed for the canoe, when she is not employed afloat. While, on one side, some women are giving their attention to the children and to the family concerns, some, elsewhere, are drying and smoking fish for the winter stock ; and others are busied in making mats, and joining and sewing furs in order to make them into cloaks. No fixed places were distinguishable for sleeping, and, according to appearances, all the individuals of a family sleep pell-mell on the boarded floor of the habitation. The disgusting filthiness of the place might, however, induce the supposition that they spread on the ground, for the time of sleep, mats or skins ; and this may be supposed without taxing them
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with sensuality*. But if they are so negligent with respect to themselves, they are less so in regard

* "It is common," says Surgeon *Roblet*, "to see twenty-five families, each composed of five or six individuals, assembled under the same roof, without confusion, although there are places appropriated for work, such as the manufacture of mats, ropes, &c."

I cannot believe that there is not an error in the figures; twenty-five families, of five or six individuals each, give a product of from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty persons; and we may take one hundred and forty as a mean term: now, it is physically impossible to be able to establish, in such a manner as to live there habitually, one hundred and forty persons on fifty feet in length and thirty-five in breadth (the dimensions of the most spacious habitations) that is to say, on a superficies of one thousand seven hundred and fifty feet, or about forty-nine toises, which gives only twelve square feet, or the third of a square toise for each of the individuals; for the surface of a mat of six feet long by two broad, necessary for receiving a man laid down, is equal to a third of a square toise; thus supposing, against every probability, that all the individuals of a habitation lay squeezed side by side, and that the feet of those of the first rank touched the heads of those of the second; and the feet of the second, the heads of the third, &c. the total floor of the habitation would be occupied by the hundred and forty mats: but we must deduct from this floor for the fireplace, about a square toise, and seven or eight toises for the places reserved for the workshops, for those that are occupied by the chests in which are contained their winter provisions, for that which is occupied by the canoe, &c. which reduces the disposable surface to about forty toises, or one thousand four hundred and forty square feet, and gives no more, for each individual, than about ten superficial feet, or a place of five feet long by two broad: thus it is proved that the hun-

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regard to their children : the youngest are laid in cradles suspended like hammocks. Our voyagers saw a somewhat considerable number of chests piled up on the sides and in the corners of the habitation, and they learnt that these chests hold the winter provisions, and that, in others, are contained bows and arrows. In different places of the walls, were hung darts, lances, nets, fish-hooks, with poles and lines for fishing.

The habitations are, in general, painted and decorated in various ways ; but what was particularly remarkable in that which the French visited, was a picture somewhat like those which they had seen in the sort of redoubt erected in the small

dred and forty individuals cannot be established in a manner supportable for them, in a single habitation of the dimensions given ; and that, for every one to have room to sleep, they must lie like a litter of puppies under the belly of their mother. I think therefore that, instead of twenty-five families ; as we read in figures in the copy of the journal which is now before me, we should read *five* families : which gives only the number of twenty-five or thirty for the total of the individuals, a number which in strictness can be established on the given surface, without warranting, however, that they would then be much at their ease.

But if the result of the calculation determine us to reject, in regard to the number of the individuals, the observation presented by the Journal of Surgeon *Roblet*, we can at least conclude from it that several families are united in the same habitation ; and as we know, besides, that other habitations of the same extent are occupied only by a single family, we are led to conclude thence that there is, among these islanders, an equality of fortune and condition.

island of the Strait, which occupied the head of the apartment, as is seen suspended in the drawing-rooms in SPAIN, over the *Estrado*, the picture of the immaculate conception. Surgeon ROBLET has described this production of the fine arts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA. " Among
 " a great number of figures very much varied,
 " and which at first appeared to me," says he,
 " to resemble nothing, I distinguished in the middle a human figure which its extraordinary proportions, still more than its size, render monstrous. Its thighs extended horizontally, after
 " the manner of tailors seated, are slim, long, out of all proportion, and form a carpenter's square
 " with the legs which are equally ill-made; the
 " arms extended in the form of a cross, and terminated by fingers, slender and bent. The face
 " is twelve (French) inches, from the extremity
 " of the chin to the top of the forehead, and
 " eighteen inches from one ear to the other; it is
 " surmounted by a sort of cap. Dark red," adds he, " apple green, and black are here blended
 " with the natural colour of the wood, and distributed in symmetrical spots, with sufficient intelligence to afford at a distance an agreeable object."

From the description which Surgeon, ROBLET gives us of this picture, it might be imagined that it somewhat resembles those shapeless essays of an intelligent child, who undertakes, without principles, to draw the objects which present themselves

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to his sight : I remark, however, that the voyagers who have frequented the different parts of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA*, often saw there works of painting and sculpture in which the proportions were tolerably well observed, and the execution of which bespoke a taste and perfection which we do not expect to find in countries where the men seem still to have the appearance of savages. But what must astonish most, and I shall resume this observation in the sequel, is to see paintings every where, every where sculpture, among a nation of hunters.

I have already made known part of the moveables of the habitation that we are visiting ; of these the cooking utensils appear to form a considerable portion : here are seen confounded with wooden vessels and spoons of horn or of whalebone, peculiar to the country, iron pots and kettles, stew-pans, frying-pans, boilers, tin basins, and the other household utensils, with which the Europeans have furnished the Americans, and the use of which is become as familiar to them as to ourselves. There were also seen sheets of copper, large pieces of bar iron, hatchets, adzes, joiner's chisels, plane-irons, daggers, and lances, the whole of English manufacture, mingled and confounded with American lances ; bones jagged or barbed for arming the point of the lances, fish-hooks of stone or

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 242.

bone *, mats and ropes, no doubt of the bark of trees, or other plants whose exterior filaments are easily detached from the ligneous part, lastly hats made of rushes, and other weapons, tools, implements, utensils, and dresses, which may be called indigenous, because they are those which the Americans had invented and fabricated for themselves, before the Europeans, by introducing into their islands the produce of our industry, had brought them to know new conveniences and new wants.

The master of the habitation also possessed for his own particular use four muskets and half a pound of powder; but, fortunately for him, and perhaps for others, he neither had balls nor lead; I say fortunately: in fact, on the one hand, the French had an opportunity of seeing, in the trials which he made with a little powder, because he was very sparing of it, that he used this weapon very awkwardly; and, on the other, it appeared, that the arms which he had received in the course of barter with the English were of so bad a quality, that not one of them would have been able to stand the most common charge, if this charge had been fired with ball or even with shot. It appears that he was not acquainted with the use of either; for, although he had renewed several times, but in vain, his entreaties in order to obtain from the French powder and muskets, he never asked them

* "These fish-hooks," says Surgeon *Roblet*, "are of the most disadvantageous form."

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either for lead or balls. I shall not repeat what I have said respecting the imprudence that there has been in permitting the Americans to become familiar with European arms: most assuredly, I would not have these employed to oppress them; but, without making them experience their effects, the terror which our arms had inspired, should have been maintained: terror constitutes the strength and the security of the small number against the multitude. And can we flatter ourselves, although we have not made known to these people the means by which the musket is a murderous weapon, that they will always continue to believe that it is intended to produce only smoke and noise? If ever one of them, in a quarrel with Europeans, is struck by a ball, can we hope that he or his companions, on dressing the wound, for, no doubt, they have some means of curing those which they may inflict on each other, in examining the wound, will succeed in discovering the foreign body that made it? And is it presuming too much on their intelligence, to think that shortly they will find means to substitute to ball which they have not, small round pebbles, heads of nails, or pieces of iron? May it not even happen that in making use of a pewter basin, a too great heat may melt it? And that an accident of this sort may bring them quite naturally to conclude that with a pewter basin, they may easily make balls? I much fear that the mercantile avidity of the English, if

they continue to supply the Americans with muskets and powder, may have sacrificed to the interest of the moment their future safety, and that of the navigators who may frequent these islands: they should not forget, when all Europe recollects it with grief, that their immortal COOK was assassinated with the dagger which he himself had caused to be forged on board his ship, and of which he had made a present to the chief of a savage tribe.

Captain CHANAL hoped that, after having spent a few hours with the chief who had shewn so much eagerness to do him the honours of his habitation, he should obtain from him some furs; but, no sooner was traffic mentioned, than from being the engaging master of the house, he became a Jew chapman and dealer. Having returned to the long-boat where he again took his seat, he accepted with pleasure various articles which Captain CHANAL, in hopes of bringing him to terms, offered him as presents; but his obstinacy in requiring muskets in the first place, counteracted all commercial dealings. At length, the French made every disposition for departure, as if they had meant to take leave of the coast; and this stratagem succeeded. When the islanders saw that the sailors were pushing off the boat, they hastened to bring the few furs which they possessed: the chief was also charged to conclude the bargains for the whole tribe: and each of the natives for whom he contracted,

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tracted, approved and ratified the bargain in which he was interested. Captain CHANAL obtained several otter-skins, a greater number of skins of cub otter, and two cloaks, the one of old otter, the other of black marmot. No exchange was terminated without the accustomed gratuity, the *stock* of the Tchinkitanayans, which consisted of knives, brass bells, and other trifles; and for the price of the furs themselves, the natives, this once, preferred among the various articles of trade which were presented to them, boilers, pewter basins, and large lances: they also accepted some iron tools, and pots and kettles in a very small number.

As soon as the bargains were concluded, the chief did not endeavour to detain the French, but gave them to understand that he had sold all that the island possessed. They made signs to him that they were going to visit the east part of the southern coast of the strait, which, as I have said, is the north coast of the large island: but he signified that an English vessel had thence carried off every thing: and they had no difficulty in crediting his report, because the skins which they had just purchased, and which came from this very coast, were still fresh, and appeared, for the most part, to have belonged to animals killed the day before or the same day. He then proposed to Captain CHANAL to return in six days, assuring him that, in the interval, the islanders would kill a great number of otters the skins of which he might purchase. Captain

CHANAL answered him that, if he returned, it could not be in less than ten days; but he explained that, if the French staid away so long, they would be anticipated by an English vessel which was expected: and as he indicated that this vessel had anchored to the eastward, without the east mouth of Cox's Channel, Captain CHANAL wished to avail himself of the remainder of the day in order to ascertain whether the south coast of the strait, which extends to the eastward, might not afford some anchorage.

Scarcely had the long-boat begun steering for the large island, when our voyagers perceived, at a league's distance, a brig of a hundred and fifty or two hundred tons burden, followed by a small tender of about twelve tons. These two vessels did not shew their colours: and as the orders of the Captain of the SOLIDE enjoined him to avoid all intercourse with strange ships, he did not endeavour to speak them; but a canoe, manned by the same islanders with whom the French had traded, and which was standing on to join the brig, having passed within hail of the long-boat, and the people in her having called out, several times, pointing to the vessels, *English, English*, it could not be doubted that they were English.

Captain CHANAL re-entered Cox's Strait by the north passage, at the entrance of which the soundings were from four to five fathoms, over a bottom of small pebbles. This passage is so nar-

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row that we cannot recommend to a ship to enter it; but the fourth passage presents throughout a great depth of water. Captain CHANAL observes, however, that, if a vessel be caught in a calm, and driven by the currents, she would not have an opportunity of dropping an anchor there, because the bottom is rocky; but a ship which might anchor in CLOAK Bay, and be put in danger by the violence of a westerly gale, would have the resource of crossing Cox's Channel in order to gain the open sea to the eastward of the islands.

In the visit which Captain CHANAL paid to the Bay and the Strait, he had reason to be convinced that all this part affords no good anchorage; that the best for a ship which might be forced to anchor there, is in the middle of the west mouth of CLOAK Bay, but that the bottom is not all alike. If a navigator found himself compelled by the wind to cross the Strait from west to east, through the South Passage, it would be necessary for him to calculate the time of high water, in order to avoid being involved in the channel with the beginning of the flood or that of the ebb, because at those two periods, the tide there is very rapid. According to the small number of observations which the French had an opportunity of making, the tides appeared to run six hours, and to be regular: it is high water at the west mouth of the bay at twelve o'clock on the full and change days: the sea rises there about ten feet; the currents follow

low the direction of the land; the flood comes from the westward, and the ebb from the eastward*.

When Captain CHANAL had terminav'd his operations, he retired behind the small island where he had passed the preceding night; and the next day, the 27th of August, with a breeze from the eastward, which had succeeded the westerly winds, the long-boat regained the ship.

The plan which was drawn by Captain CHANAL of CLOAK Bay and COX's Channel, and on which are laid down all the soundings and bearings that he took, although it is given merely as a *sketch*, may be sufficient for a navigator to follow with safety as

* We find in an extract from Captain Douglas's voyage given by Captain Meares, that it was high water* in COX's Channel, on the 23d of June, 1789, the day of the new moon, at twenty minutes after midnight; that the flood there comes from the westward; that the sea rises sixteen English feet (fifteen one-third French) in perpendicular height; and that the night tides rose two feet higher than those of the day. (See Meares's Voyages, page 367.)

Captain Chanal not having been in CLOAK Bay at the period of the new moon, which was on the 29th of August, was reduced to estimate from the tides which he had observed on the preceding days, that the time of high water, on the full and change of the moon, at the entrance of the bay, was twelve o'clock, and that the sea there rises twelve feet. He nearly agrees with Captain Douglas as to the time; but he differs from him from ten to fifteen feet as to the perpendicular rise of the water. This difference can be explained only by that of the different winds which may have blown at the periods of the two observations: it is well known that, in narrow channels, the direction of the wind has a considerable influence on the height of the tide.

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a guide for the bay and the channel ; the direction of the coasts is there inserted with correctness; their sinuosities are represented in a map ; and, in the course of the narrative, will be found indicated the quality of the bottom and the setting of the currents.

It remains for me to give an idea of the nature of the soil, of the productions of the country, and of its population, and to add a few remarks which will develop what the conduct of its inhabitants has already made known of their character and customs*.

The

* I extract from the Journal of the *Iphigenia* Captain Douglas, all that concerns the discovery of Cox's Strait or Channel. This extract adds little to our information ; but our readers may be very glad to compare what has been said of this Channel by the first who discovered it, with what was seen and said of it by Captain Chanal and Surgeon Roblet.

" In the morning of the 20th, (June 1789) the long-boat was dispatched to the head of the bay, to discover if there was any passage up the inlet ; and the account received on her return was, that, toward the head of the bay, a bar ran across, on which the long-boat got aground ; but that within it there was the appearance of a large sound. Several canoes now came alongside the ship, and having purchased their stock of furs, Captain Douglas got under way to look into an inlet which he had observed the preceding year : at noon it was exceeding hazy, and no observation was made.

" Early in the afternoon the long-boat was sent, well manned and armed, to examine the inlet and found for anchorage, and soon after, twelve canoes being seen making their way towards her, while several others were coming off to the ship, Captain Douglas made sail after the long-boat, which had already made a signal for anchorage. At five o'clock they dropped the

The lands which form the Bay and the Strait are low and covered with firs. The trees there do not

the bower anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, about four miles from the shore, and two from a small barren, rocky island, which happened to prove the residence of a chief, named *Blackaw Coneehow*, whom Captain *Douglas* had seen on the coast in his last voyage. He came immediately on board, and welcomed the arrival of the ship with a song, to which two hundred of his people formed a chorus of the most pleasing melody. When the voices ceased, he paid Captain *Douglas* the compliment of exchanging names with him, after the manner of the chiefs of the *Sandwich* Islands.

"On the 21st, at seven in the morning, they stood up the inlet, and at nine came to in eighteen fathoms water, when they moored the ship with the stream anchor. Through this channel, which is formed by *Charlotte's* Islands, and an island that lies off the west end of it, the tide was found to run very rapid. The passage takes its course east and west, about ten or twelve miles, and forms a communication with the open sea. It was now named *Cox's* Channel. Very soon after the ship was moored, the long-boat was sent to sound in the mid-channel, but no soundings could be obtained with eighty fathoms of line; but near the rocks, on the starboard shore, they had twenty and thirty fathoms water.

"Having been visited the preceding night by two canoes, which lay on their paddles, and dropped down with the tide, as was supposed, in expectation of finding us all asleep, they were desired to keep off, and, finding themselves discovered, they made hastily for the shore. As no orders had been given to fire at any boat, however suspicious its appearance might be, these people were suffered to retreat without being interrupted. This night, however, there happened to be several women on board, and they gave Captain *Douglas* to understand, that if he or his crew should fall asleep, all their heads would be cut off, as a plan had been formed by a considerable number of the natives as soon as the lights were out, to make
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not stand so close as on the coast of TCHINKITÄ-NAY, and even, at a certain distance from the beach,

an attempt on the ship. The gunner therefore received his instructions, and soon after the lights were extinguished, on seeing a canoe coming out from among the rocks, he gave the alarm, and fired a gun over her, which was accompanied by the discharge of several muskets, which drove her back again with the utmost precipitation.

"In the morning (22d June) the old chief *Blakow-Comewahow*, made a long speech from the beach; and the long-boat going on shore for wood, there were upwards of forty men who issued from behind a rock, and held up a thimble and some other trifling things, which they had stolen from the ship; but when they found that the party did not intend to molest them, they gave a very ready and active assistance in cutting wood, and bringing the water-casks down to the boat. Some time after the thief came on board, arrayed, as may be supposed, in a fashion of extraordinary ceremony, having four skins of the ermine hanging from each ear, and one from his nose; when, after Captain *Douglas* had explained to him the reason of their firing the preceding night, he first made a long speech to his own people, and then assured him that the attempt which had been made, was by some of a tribe who inhabited the opposite shore, and entreated, if they should repeat their nocturnal visit, that they might be killed as they deserved. He added that he had left his house, in order to live alongside the ship, for the purpose of its protection, and that he himself had commanded the women to give that information which they had communicated. This old man exercised the most friendly services in his power to Captain *Douglas*, and possessed a degree of authority over his tribe, very superior to that of any other chief whom they had seen on the coast of *America*.

"In the afternoon Captain *Douglas* took the long-boat and ran across the channel, to an island which lay between the ship and the village of *Tutance*, and invited the chief to be of the party;

beach, the forest appears like regular plantation ; there, are seen two beautiful glades ; and, in several

party ; who, having seen him pull up the wild parsley and eat it, he was so attentive as to order a large quantity of it, with some salmon, to be sent on board every morning.

" At six o'clock in the morning of the 23d, finding the ground to be bad, they ran across the channel to a small harbour, which is named *Beal's Harbour*, on the *Tartane* side ; and at ten dropped anchor in nineteen fathoms water, about half a cable's length from the shore ; the land locked all round, and the great wooden images of *Tatanet* bore east one quarter north ; the village on the opposite shore bearing south half west. This harbour is in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 18'$ north, and longitude $227^{\circ} 6'$ east from *Greenwich* (or $135^{\circ} 14'$ west from *Paris*.)

" The three following days were employed in purchasing skins, and preparing to depart ; but as all the stock of iron was expended, they were under the necessity of cutting up the hatch-bars, and chain-plates.

" On the morning of the 27th, as soon as the chief returned, who had gone on shore the preceding evening, to get a fresh supply of provisions, Captain *Douglas* gave orders to unmoor, and a breeze springing up, at half past nine they got under way, and steered through *Cox's Channel*, with several canoes in tow. At eleven, having got out of the strength of the tide, which ran very rapid, they hove to, and a brisk trade commenced with the natives, who bartered their skins for coats, jackets, trowers, pots, kettles, frying-pans, wash-hand basons, and whatever articles of a similar nature could be procured, either from the officers or the men ; but they refused to take any more of the chain-plates, as the iron of which they were made proved so brittle, that it broke in their manufacturing of it. The loss of the iron and other articles of trade, which had been taken out of the ship by the Spaniards, was now very severely felt, as the natives carried back no small quantity of furs, which Captain *Douglas* had not the means of purchasing.

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veral places, the country presents some agreeable sites and a diversified prospect.

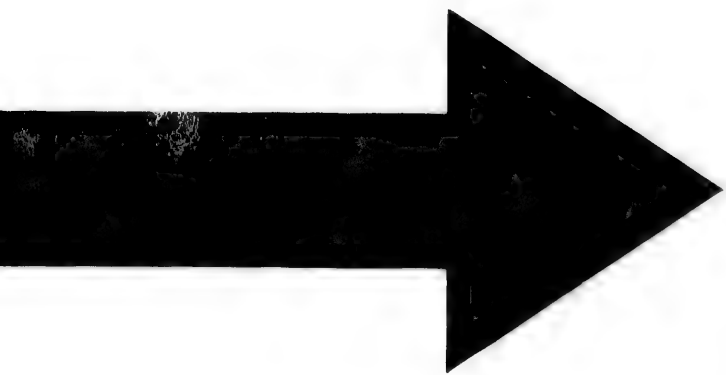
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" This tribe is very numerous ; and the village of *Tartanee* stands on a fine spot of ground, round which was some appearance of cultivation ; and in one place in particular, it was evident that seed had been lately sown. In all probability, Captain *Graz*, in the sloop *Washington*, had fallen in with this tribe, and employed his considerate friendship in forming this garden ; but this is mere matter of conjecture, as the real fact could not be learned from the natives. From the same benevolent spirit, Captain *Douglas* himself planted some beans, and gave the natives a quantity for the same useful purpose ; and there is little doubt but that excellent and wholesome vegetable, at this time, forms an article of luxury in the village of *Tartanee*. This people, indeed, were so fond of the cookery practised on board the *Ipheginia*, that they very frequently refused to traffic with their skins, till they had been taken down to the cabin, and regaled with a previous entertainment." (See *Meares' Voyages*, pages 365, and following.)

Such are the only details which, till this day, we have received from the English respecting the channel named by *Douglas Cox's Channel*. It cannot be doubted that it is the same as that which was visited and sounded by Captain *Chenal* ; but it appears that *Douglas* has comprehended under the name of *Cox's Channel*, both the Channel, properly so called, and *Dixon's Cloak Bay*. It is scarcely possible to apply what he says of his anchoring and of his proceedings in the Channel, to the plan drawn of it by the French (*Plate V.*) we are tempted to believe that the English navigator, proud of his discovery, and little disposed to render public details which might afford information to those whom the facility of trade and the abundance of furs might call into this quarter, has lifted up the veil only as much as was necessary for securing to himself the honour of the discovery. He staid long enough in the channel to have had time to draw at least a rough plan ; but, no doubt, he has thought it prudent to keep it to himself, and he does not make up for the want of it by what he says in his journal.

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The coast is, in general, bold, and bordered with blocks of rock, which appear to have been separated from the neighbouring mass by some ancient convulsion. These blocks are heaps of flinty stones cemented together by a petrifying gluten: the flints which compose them are of different spe-

journal. In fact, it may have been seen that when he speaks of a coast he never indicates whether it is to the northward or southward of the Channel; and when he gives an account of the proceedings of his boat, the reader is always ignorant whether she steers to the southward or northward. I am of opinion, however, that the coast of *Tartanee* is the northern coast of the Channel, the part which the French have called *Île du Nord*, the *Norih* Island, because *Douglas* says that at his first anchorage, he had an island between the ship and the village of *Tartanee*; now, all the islands of the Channel, as is seen on the plan of the French, are in the vicinity of the north coast: and since the islands are to the north, the land which was beyond, with respect to his ship, was therefore also to the northward. I further observe, that he indicates, in a bearing, the large wooden statues of *Tartanee*, and we know, by the journals of the French, that these statues belong to the habitations of the north coast, and that those on the south coast have none.

The observations made on board of the *Solide* have placed the middle of the entrance of *Cloak Bay* in latitude $54^{\circ} 10'$, which gives $54^{\circ} 9'$ for the middle of the west mouth of *Cox's Channel*: Captain *Douglas* says that this latitude is $54^{\circ} 18'$, is there an error in the figures? As for the longitude, that of *Douglas* is $135^{\circ} 14'$ west from *Paris*, that on the plan of the French, $135^{\circ} 58'$.

Dixon's chart (as has been already seen in page 263) places the middle of the west entrance of *Cloak Bay*, in latitude $54^{\circ} 12'$, and longitude $133^{\circ} 20'$ west from *Greenwich*, or $135^{\circ} 40'$ west from *Paris*.

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cies; in these, flex prevails; here too are distinguished living rock of several grains: the most common, which is very compact and very hard, is of a dark iron gray; and that which appeared to hold the second rank, is grayish and not so hard as the former *.

The soil, on both the coasts of the Channel and the Bay, appears to be only a composition of the remains of plants and rocks, and to have no great depth. Although the dews are very copious during the night, it is more dry than that of TCHINKITANAY, and it may be presumed that the climate of the islands is much more rainy than that of the coast of the continent under the same parallels; it announces itself too as more temperate: REAUMUR's thermometer, during the stay which the French made there, never fell lower than two've degrees †.

The trees on the back of the hills are of a tolerably handsome growth; but those on the summit, and those by the sea-side, are, in general, knotty and crooked. It may be admitted as a well-founded probability, that these islands are not exposed to violent hurricanes, when we see such very lofty trees, whose roots, entirely exposed, are scarcely implanted in the clefts of the rocks; and others which, dried by time, remain dead yet erect,

* Observations of Roblet. † Ibid.

without being broken and thrown down by the winds *.

The fresh water here is very light and of a good quality; but, as at TCHINKITĀNAY, it is impregnated with extractive particles of the trees and plants which it dissolves in its course, and which give it a reddish tint †. A small stream where water may be filled, is to be found on the coast of the NORTH island of the Strait, in the cove which is situated to the northward of the north-west point of the island of the channel ‡.

Our voyagers had not time to study minutely the productions of the country; they merely were enabled to judge that, in general, they are the same as on the coast of TCHINKITĀNAY.

The sea abounds with fish in CLOAK Bay, and especially in COX's Channel. The cove whither the French retired to pass the night, furnished them with excellent muscles, and in sufficient abundance to exempt them from losing time in fishing; however, they procured, with much facility, a somewhat considerable quantity of very good rock-fish.

The rocks which are at the bottom of the water there produce, as on the greater part of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, sea-leeks, and different species of the tall *fucus* which has already

* Observations of Robles. † Ibid.

‡ This cove might be *Douglas's Beal Harbour*, in which he had the statues of *Tartane* bearing east south-east half east; but the space for anchoring is there very confined.

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been mentioned. Whales come and blow at the opening of CLOAK Bay; seals play throughout its whole circumference; but they seem, from preference, to frequent the borders of Cox's Channel.

Birds are very numerous; but our voyagers had not an opportunity of examining all the species of them: they only distinguished among the sea-fowl, the gull, the diver, the wild duck, and a bird almost black, with a long neck and palmated feet. Birds of this last-mentioned species, heavy and like the cormorant of which they appear to have the habits, assemble in numerous flights on the edge of the rocks; they have some difficulty to quit them when a person approaches; and as soon as he is gone away, they regain their former retreat: this bird would be taken for a real cormorant, if its flesh had not the taste of that of the duck, whereas it is well known that the flesh of the cormorant of EUROPE and of other countries, has a very disagreeable flavour. The land-birds which were seen, are the eagle, the vulture, the sparrow-hawk, the raven, the gray heron of the largest species, with sparrows, and other small birds to which our navigators were not able to apply a name.

The only quadruped that they perceived, is the domestic dog; it is, as at TCHINKITANAY, of the race of our shepherd's dog. The French had no knowledge of the other animals only by their skins which they procured by traffic.

It is difficult to form an idea of the population of CLOAK Bay and of the country bordering on COX's Channel. The natives disseminated on this part of the coast seem to form but one tribe, composed of several families, each of which has its particular chief: the greatest number of individuals that the French saw assembled at once in the cove where the market was held, never amounted to more than two hundred of all ages and of both sexes; but it was remarked that the greater part of those who had been seen on the 23d of the month, at the time of Captain CHANAL's first examination of the west mouth of the bay, had not made their appearance at the market; it must be supposed that those who had no furs to exchange, had not repaired thither; that some were employed in hunting, others in fishing, or otherwise; thus, including the coasts of the bay, the portion of the coast of the large island, which, on the south side, forms the Bay and the Strait, and extends two or three leagues farther to the eastward, the whole population of this quarter may, at the highest, be estimated at four hundred individuals.

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The stature of the natives who inhabit the environs of the Bay and of the Channel, differs not materially from that of Europeans: they are better proportioned, better formed than the Tchinkitanayans, and have not that gloomy and wild look which characterizes the face of the latter. Their features are regular, and their countenance is nearly that of

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the nations of EUROPE. Their skin appears brown; but if they were cleansed of their dirt, and exposed themselves less to the open air and the inclemency of the seasons, their colour would not differ from ours; indeed there were remarked several, on whom, no doubt, these causes have operated less, whose complexion is less swarthy than that of the inhabitants of our country-places. Their fine black hair, which many cut round, is not, like that of the nations of TCHINKITĀNAY, covered with ochre, down of birds, and all the filth that negligence suffers to be there collected. Their eyes are large and lively; while, on the contrary, those of the Tchinkitanayans are small, dull, and watery. They likewise differ from this latter people, by their not smearing their face with red and black: our voyagers perceived only two individuals who had their face painted, and perhaps those belonged originally to some other tribe*. They are not entirely free from vermin, for these swarmed in the old cloaks which were received from them; but at least they do not make a treat of them: yet we shall find them very dirty if we compare them to the *Sybarites* of the MENDOÇA Islands. Surgeon ROULET is of opinion that their

* On this point Surgeon *Roblet* differs from Captain *Chamblay*; he says that the men of *Cloak Bay*, like those of *Tchinkitānay*, paint themselves red and black indifferently, much more than the women. The Editor of *Dixon's Journal*, who speaks a great deal of furs, has neglected to speak of the men.

extreme want of cleanliness must be attributed to the scabs and purulent pimples with which the greater part of the men, women, and children are covered. Several among them have the face deeply marked with the small-pox; but it is not known whether this disorder be peculiar to these islands, or whether, as may be supposed, they owe it to their communication with the Europeans, which seems to me likely to be much more ancient than we think *. Surgeon ROBLET says that he cannot affirm whether the disorder of the same name, but so different in its cause and effects, which, according to the opinion generally received, AMERICA gave to EUROPE, be known among these islanders: it is probable that the English are, in this respect, better informed than ourselves. It was not remarked that the inhabitants of these islands had the body tattooed; but there are seen on their breast the scars which they themselves make, as well as Surgeon ROBLET could comprehend them, either in illnesses or in great afflictions; "but," says he,

* It is difficult to persuade ourselves that islands of a considerable extent which are separated from the continent only by a channel that is not more than twenty leagues in its greatest breadth, and not more than ten at its northern extremity, where these islands must be seen from the main land, it is, I say, difficult to believe that they have not been known to the Spaniards long before *La Pérouse*, in 1786, had made the first discovery of them; but what is more probable is that the nation which possesses *Mexico* and *Peru*, was not anxious to make these islands known, and would wish, no doubt, that we were still ignorant of their existence.

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in his observations, "what surpris'd me, was in
 "the great number of individuals whom I ex-
 "amin'd, I saw very few, thirty years of age and
 "upwards, who had scars; whereas those who
 "are younger, and children, almost all have some.
 "This difference between individuals of different
 "ages," adds he, "would seem to indicate that
 "this custom is not ancient among them; that at
 "least it is not general; and that perhaps whole
 "generations pass away without having found oc-
 "casion to scarify themselves in so cruel a manner."

It is not known what was, previous to their in-
 tercourse with Europeans, the primitive dress, the
 peculiar costume of these islanders; the English
 who had a communication with them before we
 knew them, have not thought fit to give us a
 description of it: we see only that these Americans
 have substituted to the fur cloaks, in which they
 at this day trade, and with which, no doubt they
 formerly covered themselves, the jackets, great
 coats, trowsers, and other garments in use in our
 countries; some even wear a hat, stockings, and
 shoes; and those who were clothed completely in
 the European fashion, would not appear in the
 midst of our cities, either as savages, or even fo-
 reigners. However they do not lay aside the orna-
 ments with which the people of the NORTH-WEST
 coast of AMERICA are accustomed to deck them-
 selves; they wear ear-pendants, and necklaces of
 glass-beads or of plaited brass wire, like those of the

Tchinkitanayans; and the custom is common to both sexes. Those who have not yet adopted the European head-dress, have a hat of plaited rushes, in the form of a truncated cone, widened and a little turned up at its base.

The women of CLOAK Bay are less ugly than those of TCHINKITANAY; but, without being apprehensive of passing for overnice, we may say that, in general, they are still far from being pretty. However, they are fair; their features have nothing harsh nor forbidding, but most of them are dirty to an excess. They wear their hair its full length. Their garments consist of skins of animals coarsely tanned, which they never wash, and the odour of which is perceivable at a distance. Some wear pieces of bear-skin with the hair, usually fastened with a string which they tie under the chin, but open, when, happening to be near an European, they wish to attract his attention*.

Labels They add to a natural ugliness, by the use of that ornament, no less whimsical than disgusting, which is enchased in the under lip, and the description of which has, doubtless, not been forgotten. This trinket of which they are so proud, has still greater dimensions than that of the Tchinkitanayans; and its size is in like manner proportionable to age, and follows the progress of it. The Editor of DIXON's voyage says that "one of these lip-pieces appearing to be peculiarly orna-

* Observations of Roblet.

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" mented, Captain DIXON wished to purchase it,
 " and offered the old woman to whom it belong-
 " ed a hatchet; but this she refused with con-
 " tempt; tooes, basons, and several other articles,
 " were afterwards shewn to her, and as constantly
 " rejected. Our Captain began now to despair of
 " making his wished-for purchase, and had nearly
 " given it up, when one of our people happening
 " to shew the old lady a few buttons, which looked
 " remarkably bright, she eagerly embraced the
 " offer, and was now altogether as ready to part
 " with her wooden ornament, as before she was
 " desirous of keeping it. This curious lip-piece
 " measured three and seven-eighth (English) inches
 " long, and two and five-eighth inches in the
 " widest part: it was inlaid with a small pearly
 " shell, round which was a rim of copper*."

Captain DIXON has deposited it in the cabinet of
 curiosities belonging to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Pre-
 sident of the Royal Society of LONDON, and given
 a drawing of it of the natural size in the account
 of his voyage†. Whatever fancy our women may
 have for foreign ornaments, however solicitous
 they may be to make consideration and respect suc-
 ceed to the empire of youth and gracefulness, we
 may doubt whether they will ever adopt the lip-
 piece, which, when it has attained the greatest
 possible dimensions, without encroaching on the
 ears, consoles the American women for the loss of

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 208.

† *Ibid.*

their

their attractions, and seems to them sufficient, in all eyes as well as their own,

" *Pour réparer des ans l'irréparable outrage* *."

RACINE'S *Athalie*.

March
The young American females, who do not aspire to this excess of honour, would not be destitute of charms, if, in general, a disgusting filthiness did not render them inaccessible; on approaching them, the olfactory organs experience a most unpleasant sensation, which apprizes the stranger to go no farther. It appears, however, from the testimony of Surgeon ROULET, that the communication with Europeans had already produced rather remarkable changes, both in their toilet, and in their customs. They carefully comb their fine locks; they frequently wash themselves, and suffer on their body no hair on any other part than the head. When their cheeks are cleaned and stripped of the coat which is foreign to them, their natural bloom is discovered: it is not roses scattered on lilies, but still it is roses: and eyes which, for a long time past, were saddened by the colour of night spread over the dark faces of the American women of the coast, dwelt with pleasure on the colour of youth. The French began to find them passable; and we imagine that they ended by finding them pretty. The men and the old women who offered young girls as articles of trade, took great care to point

* To repair the irremediable havock of time.

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out that they did not wear the American ornament which had appeared to displease strangers, and that in their lip there was no incision. The countenance of these young victims was decent, their look timid; and they announced, by their embarrassment, that it was without their consent that an offer was made of their persons *.

The natives of this northern part of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, appear endowed with a superior degree of intelligence: an opinion may have been already formed of this from the solidity and arrangement of their habitations; and the make of their canoes which are no less substantially constructed than skilfully wrought, is another proof of their spirit of invention and industry. To these qualities, they add foresight: their canoes, when they are not employed afloat, are carefully placed under sheds, and sometimes drawn into the habitation. Their weapons for hunting and their implements for fishing, little different from those of the Tchinkitanayans, bespeak pains in the execution. They still employ the paddle to move their canoes; but they have already discovered the utility of the sail, and they have been seen, with the wind aft, to spread a blanket for

* "It is easy to see," says Surgeon *Robles*, "that they yield to the avarice of their parents and to interest, rather than to their taste or their constitution." To judge of them by the details into which he enters, they are statues as inanimate as the statues of the portals.

performing

performing the same office ; as they have a spirit of imitation, we may presume that it will not be long before they improve among them the art of rigging and working their little vessels.

Music seems not to be unknown to these islanders ; I am not speaking merely of that chanting, of that music in chorus, which, in some of the tribes of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, appears to be a species of religious rite ; but Surgeon ROBLET mentions that he saw, in the habitations, some of those flutes with several pipes, imitating in miniature part of an organ, known among the musical instruments of the ancients, by the name of *Pan's pipe*, and one of the attributes of that divinity. He reckoned on some of these flutes as many as eleven pipes : does this instrument give more than the whole gamut, more than the complete system of seven tones and the octave ? Or, what would be more astonishing, is there but one gamut with the half tones necessary for varying modulation ?

He also presumes that these islanders must have been, or at least that they were formerly, acquainted with an instrument of another kind, similar to a harp ; and he grounds his opinion on a carved figure, which he examined, having its hands placed on an instrument of this sort. We must be surpris'd, no doubt, to find the harp known on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA. An instrument so complicated as that which is composed of
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an assemblage of sonorous boxes, to which are fixed, by moveable pegs, several strings more or less stretched in order to form a scale of sounds graduated according to a harmonic progression, implies the union of various branches of knowledge which belong not to a half-savage people. If any thing could authorize the supposition that this instrument may have passed from the Old Continent to the New, it would be its antiquity, which is lost in the darkness that envelops the early times of the History of EGYPT, the mother of the arts. In fact, we read in the *Travels of JAMES BRUCE to discover the Source of the Nile**, that, on visiting the ruins of THEBES† with its hundred gates, the wonders of which the muse of HOMER has so much amplified, he found, in the sepulchres or vaults of that city, paintings in fresco in good preservation, representing musicians, whose harps, mounted with thirteen or eighteen strings, are six feet or seven feet and a half high, and decorated with incrustations and sculpture of the best kind. Mr. BRUCE conjectures that these pictures were painted in a time which answers to the reign of SOLOMON‡;

* See *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*. London. 1790. In 4to. vol. i. p. 128 and following.

† Mr. Bruce says that the site where *Thebes* stood is inclosed by a hundred insulated mountains, which leave between them a like number of gorges or defiles: this topographical description may explain the fable of the hundred gates.

‡ Bruce, vol. i. page 131. (*Solomon* ascended the throne 1019 years before Christ.)

they

they would then have twenty-eight centuries of antiquity ; and on considering to what degree of improvement the harp had been carried at that period, we may conclude that the first invention of this instrument, among the Egyptians, is much prior to the pictures of the sepulchres of THEBES, in which it is found represented in its state of perfection. It would not therefore be centuries that have been wanting, in order that the harp, invented in EGYPT, might, from nation to nation, have reached the extremity of ASIA, and thence be carried to AMERICA by the emigrant Tartars ; but it must be admitted that, to pass from EGYPT to QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, this instrument, which is not very portable, would have had a great many countries to traverse.

Game
Thax Surgeon ROBLET remarked that the natives of CLOAK Bay have a sort of passion for gaming. They are seen carrying every where with them, thirty small sticks, three or four inches in length by about four lines in diameter *, with which they make a party, one against one, in the following manner. Among the sticks, there is one distinguished from all the others by a black circle : one of the players takes this single stick, joins to

* These little sticks are very nicely wrought, perfectly round and of a beautiful polish : the wood of which they are made, appears to be a species of wild plum-tree ; it is hard and compact, although very light.

it another taken from among the twenty-nine common ones, mixes the two together without seeing them, and then places them separately under a bit of cloth: that which the adversary chooses, merely by pointing it out, is mixed, without looking at it, with all the others, and the adversary wins or loses, if the stick confounded in the mass, in case it happens to be the only stick, is a shorter or longer time in coming out. I admit that I do not see the finesse of this game; perhaps it is ill explained because it has been ill understood. I presume, however, that it may be susceptible of various combinations which must have escaped an observer who does not understand the language spoken by the players. I judge so from an assortment of these small sticks which Captain CHANAL procured and brought to FRANCE. On examining them, are seen traced on some, towards the middle of their length, three black parallel circles: on others, the three circles, brought close to each other, occupy one of the extremities: other sticks bear two, four, five, six, or seven black circles, distributed lengthwise, at unequal distances: and it may be conceived that these varieties in the number and disposition of the circles which distinguish one stick from the others, may produce several in the combinations. Be this as it may, the time and attention which the natives of CLOAK Bay give to this game, prove that it has, for them, a great

great attraction, and that it warmly excites their interest*.

These Americans display a sociable disposition with mild manners, and they seem exempt from mistrust; for though the French always appeared armed, and though the murderous effect of a musket is well known in these islands, the inha-

* The English, in *Dixon's Voyage*, had made the same observation, relatively to the passion which the Americans of the *North-west* coast have for gaming.

Although these poor savages are in their general manners truly in a state of uncultivated barbarism, yet in *one* instance they can boast of a refinement equal to that of more polite nations, and that is *gaming*, which is carried on here to as great a pitch (comparatively speaking) as at any of our moderate fashionable clubs. The only gaming implements I saw, were fifty-two small round bits of wood, about the size of your middle finger, and differently marked with red "paint." The Editor is here speaking of the game that is in vogue at Port *Mulgrave* which *Dixon* discovered; and, as it is seen, it bears the greatest resemblance to that which is played at *Queen Charlotte's Islands*.

"A game is played by two persons with these pieces of wood, and chiefly consists in placing them in a variety of positions, but I am unable to describe it minutely. The man whom I before mentioned our having on board at Port *Mulgrave*, lost a knife, a spear, and several tooes at this game in less than an hour: though this loss was at least equal to an English gamester losing his estate, yet the poor fellow bore his ill fortune with great patience and equanimity of temper." (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 245.)

This conformity between the game in use at Port *Mulgrave* and that of *Queen Charlotte Islands*, indicates that there may be, and that there, no doubt, still is a communication established between the islands and the coast of the continent.

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bitants never presented themselves with arms; and the serenity of their looks manifested their confidence. This security on their part is a testimony in favour of the Europeans who had formerly visited them: it proves that, towards these islanders, they neither have acted with violence nor injustice.

Let us dwell a moment on this consoling idea, that there is still some portion of that vast AMERICA whither the greedy conqueror has not carried desolation and death, that there is some portion where the American, still free, will not have to curse the day that he knew us, but will be made sensible that the men of the Old World are his brothers.

The natives of the environs of CLOAK Bay are not careless in business; they examine every thing with attention and intelligence, and never determine till after mature deliberation; but they are faithful in their bargains. Does not their slowness to conclude them, which may be partly owing to their disposition, also arise from their having been cheated in the first exchanges which the Europeans have made with them? We read in the voyage of DIXON, who appears to be the first who traded with these people, that the islanders threw their furs into the boats and into the ship of the English, without any precaution, without coming to terms, and that they waited patiently till their value was transmitted to them at the pleasure of

the purchaser. Have the Europeans made a suitable return to this blind confidence on the part of the Americans, this neglect of their interest? Have not the latter more than once had occasion to find that the articles that were delivered to them in exchange for the furs of which they stripped themselves, had not all an equal degree of goodness? Have the Europeans no reproach to make themselves? Have they never endeavoured to take an unfair advantage of the ignorance which they supposed in the Americans? Have they, in the beginning, acted with the honesty, the sincerity which ought to be the basis of trade, especially of barter, and which is not always the basis of transactions between Europeans? In short, will they not deceive them still, when they imagine that they can do so with safety? It cannot be forgotten that, in the American war, the Americans of the UNITED STATES have not, in point of trade, always had reason to be satisfied with the sincerity of the friends and allies in whose dependence their separation from the mother-country had accidentally placed them, for wants of the first necessity.

the Americans
But the difficulties that the islanders make strangers experience in traffic, in which they always seem to be on their guard, do not recur in the ordinary intercourse of life. Their manners are polite and easy; their deportment has nothing savage; they are even exempt from that roughness,

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ness, from that bluntness, with which, in civilized countries, the man little favoured by fortune, whose education has not been attended to, may too frequently be reproached. In them is remarked an equality of manners that cannot be attributed to equality of conditions which is not known to subsist, but for which they are partly indebted to their communication with the Europeans who treat them all alike.

The French had several opportunities of ascertaining that the natives of CLOAK Bay appreciate with much justness all the actions of strangers, and easily divine the object of them. We should be wrong to think that the reciprocal ignorance of language permits them not to understand each other; by the help of signs, as the only interpreter, they perfectly express what they desire, and strangers make them understand with the same facility what they wish them to comprehend. It is probable that, if trade continue to introduce among them, with our commodities, the knowledge of our manners, customs, and arts, they will, in a little time, make a rapid progress towards civilization. They prefer what is solid to that which is only agreeable, very different, in this respect, from the tribes which occupy the islands scattered between the tropics in the GREAT OCEAN, whose trifling character appreciates nothing, for whom Nature has done every thing, and who, having no wants, always prefer showy g^ht-heads, cloths of

a glaring colour, and all our baubles, to whatever our industry can offer them that is useful or convenient.

The inhabitants of CLOAK Bay are very circumspect with strangers, and seem always to be afraid of giving them offence. Does this circumspection arise from an idea of their inferiority, or does it belong to their disposition? It is not easy to determine this question; but what is certain, is that they employ a sort of management, and a great deal of art, in making to themselves a merit of their reserve: they were familiar, but by no means troublesome. Surgeon ROBLÉ says that the French could not but be well satisfied with their disinterested readiness to oblige. They were always disposed to render gratuitously every service in their power: they frequently took him in their canoes to the places which he wished to visit: he frequently saw himself alone in the midst of twelve or fifteen Americans, remote from all help on the part of the French, in case of attack on the part of the natives: they made no attempt against him; and he asserts that it would be unjust and ungrateful towards men truly hospitable, if he harboured the smallest idea of their having had an intention to avail themselves of his solitary situation and of their strength. With the exception of the petty theft of the bell, which was committed by the chief of the district where the market was established, they neither stole, nor endeavoured

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deavoured to steal. Not but that the French had reason to suspect that they are given to thieving: the articles which are displayed to their view are so tempting! They have so much occasion for them! But as they appear to consider well their interest, they have perceived that it would be prejudicial to it, to fall out with strangers; and what, perhaps, they would have impudently undertaken in the beginning, they no longer dare, now they have experienced that the active vigilance of the more intelligent class of men with whom they traffic, will always disconcert their best-combined enterprises.

These islanders understand the laws of justice, and they give frequent proofs of kindness. Our voyagers experienced a sweet emotion when they witnessed the extreme tenderness and attention of the mothers for their children; and their feelings were interested still more, when they saw the husbands assist the women in the occupation of nursing, and give themselves up to it with an assiduity, a degree of good nature, which leave no doubt respecting the sentiment that actuates them. It may be said that, in this respect, these islanders might be offered as models to nations even the most civilized.

The women vied with the men in their obliging officiousness towards the French; and this officiousness which, with them, was no more than their eagerness to shew their hospitality, appeared

by no means to excite the jealousy of the husbands. Not but that they are much attached to their wives; but, doubtless esteeming them as much as they love them, they think that the latter can appear amiable, without ever ceasing to be virtuous; and the women prove that it is possible to be virtuous, and yet be amiable. But here I am speaking only of the virtue of the married women; that of the unmarried appeared less solid. Indeed, it is not to them that the reproach of their weaknesses ought to be addressed; the avarice of the parents determines the first step towards vice; and the seduction of the Europeans, by staggering virtue by presents, has done the rest.

"If we are to judge of the fecundity of the women," says Surgeon ROULET, "by the number of children which we reckoned in the habitations, it is astonishing; it always exceeded that of the women and men united." Without pretending to combat this opinion, I shall merely observe that the children all remain in the house; which must make their number appear considerable, whereas it is probable that the men are partly employed out of doors, in fishing or hunting.

Captain CHANAL, judging that a longer stay in Cox's Channel would not add a fur to the small number of those which he had already procured, resolved to rejoin the ship, which had kept standing off

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off and on abreast of the mouth of CLOAK Bay: he got on board on the forenoon of the 27th.

Although this bay, exhausted by the frequent visits of the English and of the Americans of the UNITED STATES, had ill answered the hope that had been conceived of carrying on an abundant trade, yet Captain MARCHAND flattered himself that the more southern parts of the islands from CLOAK Bay down as far as RENNELL'S Strait, would afford more resources; and, the very next day, the long-boat was dispatched again under the command of Captain CHANAL. Lieutenant LOUIS MARCHAND, the Captain's brother, the second Surgeon REGNIER, and a volunteer, were appointed to accompany him; and the boat's crew was composed of eight of the people. An assortment of articles for trade was put into the boat; and, to provide against accidents, she was furnished with provisions for twenty days. She left the ship on the 28th, at seven o'clock in the morning, and made sail towards the coast of which she was to make a minute examination between the two points fixed for the limits of her cruise.

As Captain DIXON, who explored these islands in 1787, had touched at no harbour, and traded rapidly under sail with the different tribes that inhabit the western shore, it was out of his power to make it known for the purpose of navigation: but the survey which Captain CHANAL made of it

with no less intelligence than correctness, furnishes a series of sailing directions which merit the greatest confidence, and will be infinitely useful to the navigators whom the fur-trade may induce to visit this coast.

The long-boat landed in latitude $53^{\circ} 47'$. In this parallel, the first island that presents itself to the south south-west of CLOAK Bay bore from north north-west half north to north half east at the distance of about five miles; HIPPAH Island, thus named by DIXON, because he perceived on it an entrenchment of palisades which resembled those that the inhabitants of NEW ZEALAND designate by this name, bore in the distance south by east 5° east; and the most southern point of the part of the coast which runs north and south, and from which the boat was distant no more than a league, south-east by south half south. This part is of moderate elevation, and skirted by reefs which render it inaccessible.

Beginning from the south point, which is in like manner surrounded by rocks and islets, and is terminated by a reef which runs to the south-south-west, the coast forms a great bight in which Captain CHANAL was in hopes of discovering some harbour. In running along the north coast, he at first perceived a fine beach which presented an easy landing, and on which he distinguished some huts that seemed forsaken. At the distance of a mile from the shore, the soundings were sometimes a sandy,

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a sandy, sometimes a rocky bottom, with a variable depth from twelve to twenty fathoms. He fired a swivel in order to attract the attention of the inhabitants, but none made their appearance.

He continued to range along the north coast, and, two miles from the south point which is terminated by a reef, he discovered a creek that may be half a league in depth in the direction of north-east half north, its breadth is three or four cables' length, and the bottom is throughout fine sand, with a depth of water of from twelve to twenty fathoms; it is terminated by two sandy beaches; and a rivulet discharges itself on the south shore where the long-boat landed. No inhabitant was seen: however, some trees felled by the hand of men, others stripped of their bark, and the barking of dogs which was heard—every thing seemed to indicate that this part is not uninhabited. But Captain CHANAL in vain fired some muskets; not one inhabitant appeared. As he saw no sign of this creek having been explored by Europeans, Captain CHANAL called it *CRIQUE D'OTARD*, OTARD's Creek, from the name of one of his friends.

The two points, which form its mouth, lie, with respect to each other, east-south-east and west-north-west. At three cables' length from the south point is seen a shoal above water; and it is proper, on coming in, to borrow on the north point a little

little more than on the south point. This creek, although open to winds from the south and south-west, nevertheless affords good anchorage and good shelter; for every where the coast here seems level, and appears in no part to have been buffeted by the sea; the country which surrounds it is of middling height; but, inland, the hills are much more lofty: in short, it was thought that a ship might lie here in safety.

On quitting OTARD'S Creek, Captain CHANAL steered for an opening which appeared to the south-east half south, about four miles off. He at first ranged along the coast at a suitable distance, leaving on the starboard hand a small island which is terminated by a point of low rocks on which the sea was breaking: the lead constantly indicated a rocky bottom and a depth of water of from fifteen to twenty-five fathoms. He perceived ahead of the long-boat a canoe with two men who paddled with all their might to get away: they were seen to land among the rocks on the north coast; and they carried their canoe into the woods.

Captain CHANAL had run a little more than a league, since his departure from OTARD'S Creek, when he found himself at the entrance of a channel of moderate breadth, into which the long-boat entered. The bay or harbour to which this channel led, appeared to be of considerable extent; the bottom continued to be rocky, and the depth of

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of water varied from twenty-five to thirty fathoms : in proportion as he penetrated into the channel, the sea gradually became smoother. But night, which was beginning to spread its obscurity over all the surrounding objects, no longer allowed of their being distinguished ; and Captain CHANAL judged that it was prudent to stop : he landed on a small beach on the north coast, and there passed a very quiet night.

It was high sea at midnight ; and low water at half past six o'clock in the morning : this was the 29th of August, the day of the full moon. It was reckoned from the extreme marks that the sea had left on the rock which is perpendicular, that the tides rise in this harbour about ten feet.

On the coast was seen only one deserted hut ; but the remains of several fires, recently extinguished, proved that the natives had quitted the place a short time before.

At the first dawn of day, Captain CHANAL resumed his course in order to complete the survey of the channel and of the harbour by which it is terminated ; and he fired a swivel by way of inducing the inhabitants to make their appearance. When he had proceeded a mile on a true east half north bearing, which is that of the direction of the channel, he turned to the south-south-east half south, following the trending of the south coast : he soon saw himself surrounded by land on all points of the horizon, and he found that he had reached

reached a spacious and convenient harbour where the soundings throughout were a muddy bottom with from sixteen to twenty fathoms water. This harbour is shut in to the westward by a small island situated in the channel: Captain CHANAL had thought the day before, while he was ranging along the northern coast of this island, that it made part of the main land of the large island; but, when he had reached the eastern extremity of the channel, he found that it is separated from it by a small arm of the sea as deep as the north channel, but much narrower. The harbour was named **PORT LOUIS**, in honour of Lieutenant MARCHAND whose Christian name is LOUIS.

While our voyagers were employed in taking the soundings, they saw a canoe, conducted by five men, come out of the channel into the harbour; and they judged that it was the same which, the day before, had fled at the sight of the long-boat: they waved a white flag as a sign of friendship, and they endeavoured to confirm this signal by the most expressive gestures. The canoe approached with a sort of hesitation, but yet near enough to allow of a parley being begun. The islanders which she carried were without arms; and the tranquillity of confidence appeared painted on their faces. One of them rose up, made himself known for the chief, and requested that the chief of the strangers would likewise make himself known. Captain CHANAL shewed himself, and invited

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invited the American to come into the long-boat: the latter being embraced by the French captain, asked him to exchange names; it is well known that, among the greater part of the tribes which we call *savage*, this exchange of names is a covenant of friendship: Captain CHANAL was called NOUSK from the name of the American, who would no longer answer but when he was called by the name of CHANAL. At the end of these preliminaries, NOUSK CHANAL offered his new friend an old cloak which he wore, and received a few trifles which appeared to give him pleasure. Our voyagers augured well from this beginning; they grounded their hopes on the conduct of the natives announcing frankness and good-nature; they thought that they would not have to undergo all the tediousness of those circumspect and intricate proceedings to which the intercourse of the Europeans has already accustomed the Americans; in short, they fancied themselves certain that if, as the happy situation of the harbour seemed to promise, this district were peopled, a virgin trade would yield the most ample harvest.

Captain CHANAL thought that he could do no better than put himself under the direction of another self who offered to conduct him to his habitation situated on a small arm of the sea which he pointed out in the south-east part of the harbour. The French captain fancied that the American chief

chief promised him furs, and, on this promise, he followed him.

The narrow and deep channel into which the new pilot carried the long-boat, extends to the east-south-east and south-east by east, and is then divided into two very narrow arms, one of which runs to the eastward, and the other to the southward. At a little distance from its mouth, on the south shore, is a cove, where they stopped: there, was situated the habitation which the thickness of the wood concealed from view. On the shouts given by the men belonging to the canoe, several Americans ran out; and the former jumped on shore, making signs that they would soon return. In fact, they did not keep their new friends waiting; but, what was the surprise of the French, when they saw all these Americans come back dressed in the English fashion! Cloth jacket, petticoat trowsers, round hat; they might have been taken for THAMES watermen: but as for furs, they had none; nor had they any thing to offer but a few fishes. All hope instantly vanished; for it is well known that, in the field where the English have reaped, there remains nothing for the gleaner. All that Captain CHANAL could obtain, was a very handsome otter-skin cloak belonging to one of the men in the canoe; and it was very evident that these Americans had already made a great progress in the science of trade, for the cloak

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cloak was sold very dear. But he had not even the satisfaction of being able to pay dearly for two capital skins, tanned, or rather very neatly dressed, like chamois leather, which appeared to be fawn or rein-deer skins: whatever price he offered, he could not prevail on the Americans to part with one. He then quitted the harbour, but not without the regret of having come there too late.

Captain CHANAL came out by the south passage which separates from the main land of the large island the small island of the channel by which the harbour communicates with the open sea.

It was noon: but the disposition of the land did not allow of observing the meridian altitude of the sun in order to ascertain the latitude of PORT LOUIS; it was deduced, by the computation of the boat's run, from the observation of the day before; and it may be fixed, by approximation, at $53^{\circ} 41'$.

The two extreme points of the gulf which contains OTARD'S Creek and Port LOUIS, and at the head of which is situated this latter harbour, lie, in regard to each other, south-south-east half east and north-north-west half west: their distance is about seven miles. A ship that wishes to reach Port LOUIS must range, at a suitable distance, along the north coast of the gulf, leaving on the starboard hand all the islands of the south part of the entrance. At the head of the gulf are perceived some high chains of mountains. The coast

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is bold; and, from the shore, the lands rise rather suddenly. From the channel which leads to the harbour, is discovered to the east-south-east half south, a lofty round mountain which is somewhat remarkable, and may serve as a land-mark.

On coming out of Port LOUIS, Captain CHANAL followed in its contours the south coast of the gulf, and passed between the main land of the large island and two small islands of middling elevation which he left on the starboard hand: he found in this channel, quite close to the islands, fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and rock. When he had come abreast of the most southern of the two islands, he went up a small arm which runs into the main land of the large island, following the direction of south-south-east half south; but it was impossible to penetrate very far this way; he found it obstructed by rocks. He saw further on, to the south-south-west, a lake of salt-water; but the eye did not reach far enough for him to be able to distinguish the point where it terminates. The natives, with whom he had had a communication in the morning, and who were come to join the long-boat in the channel, seemed to indicate that it communicates with the open sea beyond the south point of the gulf; but Captain CHANAL presumes, either that the natives were mistaken, or that he misunderstood them; and as he had no hopes of meeting with any other inhabitants, or of obtaining furs in the environs of Port

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LOUIS, he stood on to double the south point of the gulf, off which are seen two shoals, that are about a mile distant from it.

On doubling this point, he perceived the SOLIDE standing to the northward under her topsails: he continued to range along the coast, the windings of which he followed. At this period, the west point of HIPPAH Island bore south by east, at the distance of about three leagues; and a point of the main land of the large island south-south-east half south, distant two leagues. Between this latter point and that along which Captain CHANAL was ranging, appeared to the south-east half south a deep bight, or opening for which he steered. But, as he soon found that it would not be possible to arrive there before night, which was approaching, he thought of looking for a place of shelter. He discovered one among the rocks bordering on the coast; but the shore was also skirted with rocks, and to reach it was impracticable: as he could not land, he determined to pass the night at anchor on a sandy bottom.

On the 30th, Captain CHANAL got under way before day-break, and directed his course for the opening which he had discovered the evening before.

In steering for this point, he perceived a canoe with three men, which put off from the north shore, and soon joined the long-boat. He purchased of these islanders a handsome-cloak, com-

posed of three otter-skins, a skin still fresh of the same animal, and two others of cub-otters. They were without arms, and appeared to be totally unacquainted with the commodities of EUROPE: the bargains were speedily concluded; the traders separated, and the long-boat continued her course. The soundings were thirty fathoms, over a fine sandy bottom, at a little more than the distance of a mile from the north coast. Captain CHANAL passed near a small island which he left on the larboard hand, and on which were seen several dogs. On doubling this island, he found himself at the entrance of a channel the breadth of which is not quite a mile, and which is shut in between high and bold lands; he followed it for the length of a full mile, in the direction of south-south-east half east, whence it afterwards turns to the east half south, over a somewhat considerable depth of water; here he had, on each side, lofty, perpendicular mountains; and a line of fifty fathoms did not reach the bottom. A canoe which was perceived astern of the boat, induced him to slacken her progress: he recognized the same islanders with whom he had traded a few hours before; on this occasion he bought of them another otter-skin cloak of inferior quality; this is all that they had been able to collect. For want of furs, they had with them a young girl of fourteen or fifteen, very dirty, but who did not seem displeased at being brought to market. She found no purchaser, They

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They gave Captain CHANAL to understand that if he would push on to the head of the channel, he might there procure some furs. The sea-breeze had succeeded to a rather long calm; and he availed himself of it in order to proceed to the place pointed out by the Americans, who continued to follow the long-boat.

When he had proceeded about a mile, he found twenty-five and thirty fathoms water, the bottom rocky, with broken shells. Here the channel grew narrower: its direction was east-north-east half east; and he saw himself surrounded on all sides by land. The depth of water increased again to fifty fathoms, over a bottom of hard sand; then he had forty-two fathoms with the same kind of bottom; and in proportion as he advanced, the anchorage became better: the soundings were successively thirty-two fathoms, shells and sand; thirty fathoms, mud; thirty fathoms, black sand; and twenty-eight fathoms, black sand and shells. He was not farther than three quarters of a cable's length from each shore of the channel; and at the distance of two cables length ahead, he perceived in the head of the bay to the east-north-east, a beach covered with verdure. He at first thought that the channel terminated at this beach; but presently he discovered that, in this part, it makes an elbow and winds to the north-north-east half east, where it forms a fine basin, an excellent harbour, in which

are fifteen fathoms water, with a muddy bottom, and ten fathoms, with the same bottom, at a small distance from the shore, which is formed of pebbles.

It was found that the harbour, after having turned to the north-north-east half east to form a basin, still extends by a small arm towards the north half east. Captain CHANAL prevailed on the natives who were accompanying him to repair to this quarter, while the boat's crew were getting their dinner; they were to apprize the inhabitants of the arrival of strangers, and engage them to bring what furs they might have to dispose of. A few small presents, made beforehand, and others more considerable promised afterwards on their return, determined the islanders without difficulty to undertake this commission. They acquitted themselves of it with dispatch, but their trip produced nothing: they gave the French to understand that they had not met with a single inhabitant.

Captain CHANAL wishing himself to ascertain the accuracy of this report, followed the coast on foot, accompanied by two other Frenchmen; and, after having traversed a space of half a mile, he came to the place where the channel terminates. Two rivulets which have their source in the neighbouring mountains, flow in this quarter; the water of them is very fine, and has none of that reddish colour which had been remarked in that
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of all the rivulets which were met with at CLOAK Bay, and before at TCHINKITANAY. They had heard the barking of dogs which seemed to indicate the occupation of the soil by men: they even discovered paths which had been made in the woods; and, although they did not perceive there any traces of recent steps, they might suppose that this part was inhabited, at least inland. But these signs were deceitful; and whatever search they made, as far as they could penetrate, they neither discovered huts, nor appearances of inhabitants. They could not but be astonished to find only a solitude in a place where streams of fine water, the shelter of a good harbour, agreeable sites, and lands which, though rather high, rise by an imperceptible acclivity, seemed to invite the natives to fix their abode.

Captain CHANAL went back to his boat, and stood on to get out of the harbour. Being returned to the mouth of the channel, he passed the night in the sandy cove on the north coast, whence, the canoe which carried the three Americans with whom they had had a communication, had come in the morning.

In this place he found the vestiges of a deserted habitation, and the remains of a mausoleum, or *morai*, of the same kind as those which had been seen on the coast of Cox's Channel; several rose-trees spread over those ruins their branches and flowers. Of these were distinguished two

species: the former, whose stem is high, may, for the leaf and the size of the flower, be compared to that which we call *rosier muscade* (Damask rose-tree); the other, which is not so tall, differs not, in the same respects, from our *rosier de Bourgogne* (Burgundy rose-tree): both exhale a slight, but agreeable perfume; their flowers, tinged with a pale rose colour, are composed of several uniform petals; and both are armed with prickles. Let not the reader figure to himself that brilliant flower which culture has improved for the embellishment of our gardens, that flower, round as a ball, whose weight bends like a bow its thorny stem, whose corolla, with a hundred leaves, charms at once the sight and the smell, and which the poets have justly called the queen of FLORA's empire; but quite simple, quite discoloured, as it is on these unfavoured lands which the oblique rays of the sun warm but feebly, the rose is still the queen of the flowers that benumbed Nature has been able to give to these climates.

The harbour which had just been visited was named Port CHANAL, (CHANAL's Harbour): an observation taken on the 31st, at noon, places its mouth in latitude $53^{\circ} 34'$. It is sufficiently spacious to receive three or four ships which might lie there at anchor; and, with an excellent bottom, it affords the best of shelter. The sea there is perfectly smooth; and the disposition of the lands is such, that, at no time, can the water be agitated.

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agitated. It was high sea on the 30th, at one o'clock in the afternoon; and as this day was the second of the moon, it may be concluded that it is high water there at twelve o'clock on the full and change days: the tide rises only seven or eight feet. The channel, throughout all its length, presents no danger; and close to its shores, which are bold, is a considerable depth of water. It was found that, when the wind blows from the offing, it winds up to, and is felt at, the very head of the channel. No obstacle can therefore be experienced in reaching this harbour; a ship, before she presents herself at its mouth, has only to wait till the sea-breeze is set in. She might rather find some difficulty in getting out: but, though Captain CHANAL had not the land-breeze, and though a fog had prevailed in the morning, during the short stay that he made there, he thinks that it is possible that this breeze takes place, and that it is even probable that it is sometimes felt, especially during the summer months. But, should the land-breeze fail, by taking advantage of the ebb-tide, and with a calm, the help of the boats would be sufficient to get a vessel out of the harbour; and, having cleared the channel, a ship may warp ahead on a sandy bottom, and be placed in a situation of getting easily under sail with a breeze from the north-west or north-west by north (the variation being allowed), which most commonly blew all the time that the French passed on this coast. A west-south-west

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course, and even two points more from the wind, takes a ship clear of all land, and fairly into the offing.

A thick fog, which was not dispersed till eight o'clock in the morning of the 31st, did not, before that period, allow Captain CHANAL to quit the cove of the north coast of the channel, where he had passed the night. About nine o'clock, he perceived a canoe, conducted by five men; and shortly after, he saw a second to the westward. He was near enough to both to hear the songs and shouts of the paddlers; but the canoes seemed to fly when the long-boat pulled to join them. Captain CHANAL thought that, by ceasing to row, he might induce them to stop; he waved the white flag; he employed, with a view of attracting them, every sign of peace and friendship that could be devised: all his invitations were useless; the Americans seemed to pay them no attention. They were seen to land among the rocks which skirt the coast; the boat immediately followed them thither, but our voyagers neither found the men nor their canoes, which, no doubt, they had concealed among the rocks, or perhaps carried into the woods. It was not possible for the long-boat to land on a coast guarded by rocks against which the swell of the offing might dash her to pieces. Two hours had already elapsed from the time when the first canoe had been perceived; and as this day had been fixed by Cap-
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tain MARCHAND for the boat's return to the ship, Captain CHANAL, before he effected this junction, had only the time necessary for examining the part of the coast which remained to be visited as far as RENNEL's Strait. The breeze had fixed at west-north-west and north-west by west (allowing for the variation); the weather was fine; he stood on towards the south quarter, in order to complete the survey of the country.

The observation of noon gave $53^{\circ} 36'$ for the latitude; and, at this time, the mouth of the channel which leads to CHANAL's Harbour, bore south-east, at the distance of a league: from this bearing reduced to the place of observation, the latitude of the harbour was, as I have already said, fixed at $53^{\circ} 34' 6''$. At the same instant, the extremities of the small gulf, at the head of which is situated CHANAL's Harbour, bore the one north half east, at the distance of a league, and the other south, at an equal distance. This small gulf presents a few bays or coves, as well in the south as in the north part; but none of them afforded either shelter or safe anchorage. At the same time, the west point of HIPPAH Island, for which the boat was steering, bore south by west at the distance of two leagues. Between this island and the south point of the gulf that Captain CHANAL was leaving, the coast is bordered with breakers and small rocky islots. He discovered a bight which turns to the south-south-east and south-east by east, and, growing

ing narrower, forms the strait or channel that separates from the main land of the large island the east part of HIPPAH Island. Captain CHANAL had run six miles since noon, and at half past one o'clock, he doubled the west point of the island. This point is terminated by breakers and a rocky ledge from which rise sea-leeks and tall *fuci*; he passed over this ledge which extends a mile into the offing, and found on it ten fathoms water.

He rounded HIPPAH Island very closely, as far as the mouth of the channel which, to the eastward, separates it from the main land of the large island. The south-west part of HIPPAH Island presents a beach bordered with rocks which render landing impracticable: the east part is a round mountain, steep, and yet covered with trees to its very summit; the shores are rocky and perpendicular; it seems inaccessible on this side: two small huts were perceived there, but no inhabitant appeared.

Captain CHANAL says that he looked in vain for that redoubt, or HIPPAH, which is mentioned in Captain DIXON's journal; he adds that he coasted the islands so near that this redoubt could not possibly have escaped his researches; and he thence concludes that it does not exist. I should rather conclude that it no longer exists; for, from the detailed description given of it by the Editor of the English journal *; from the view which

* See Dixon's Voyage, page 205.

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he has given of HIPPAH Island, and which represents this redoubt as built on an islot or a rock near the island, it is not possible to doubt that the English saw a shelter of timber work supported by posts, which they call a *redoubt*; and that they even examined it for a long time, since they took a drawing of it, the engraving of which is seen in DIXON's journal. But this pretended redoubt might be nothing more than one of those enclosures of palisades, of those huts, such as Captain CHANAL saw in COX's Channel, and the materials of which the natives carry with them when they remove their travelling habitations from one place to another, according as the object of fishing or that of hunting determines them. What seems to support this conjecture, is that Captain DIXON traded with several canoes, carrying about thirty-six men, which had all repaired from HIPPAH Island to his ship, and that he purchased of the islanders a rather considerable number of excellent cloaks, and several other furs of prime quality*; whereas Captain CHANAL perceived no inhabitant, although he rounded and coasted the island very closely from the west point to the east.

But I can neither coincide in the opinion of the Editor of the English journal, respecting the moral character of the natives of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S

* *Dixon's Voyage*, page 206.

Islands, nor adopt the motives on which he grounds his opinion *.

"A number of circumstances had occurred," says he, "since our first trade in CLOAK Bay, which convinced us, that the natives at this place were of a more savage disposition, and had less intercourse with each other, than any Indians we had met with on the coast, and we began to suspect that they were cannibals in some degree. Captain DIXON no sooner saw the fortified hut just mentioned, than this suspicion was strengthened, as it was, he said, built, exactly on the plan of the *hippah* of the savages at NEW ZEALAND (who, as is well known, eat their prisoners). The people, in coming alongside, traded very quietly, and strongly importuned us, by signs, to come on shore; at the same time giving us to understand (pointing towards the east) that if we visited that part of the coast, the inhabitants there would cut off our heads. This was an unquestionable proof, that they were at variance with their neighbours, and their hostile appearance sufficiently confirmed it, being well armed with knives and spears.

* I know not whether this opinion be that of Captain Dixon himself: but, as this journal is preceded by a dedicatory epistle from the captain to *Sir Joseph Banks*, it must be supposed that, if the narrative is not dictated by him or written under his direction, at least he approved and adopted all its contents. (*Dixon's Voyage*, page 206.)

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"I am not fond of hazarding *conjectures*, yet I cannot help remarking that though the behaviour of these people was harmless and inoffensive, yet their attempt to persuade us to go on shore is an additional proof in favour of my suspicion; they certainly wanted to decoy us into the *hippah*, and there, no doubt, we should have been instantly butchered."

The imagination of DIXON's historian is, methinks, much disposed to be startled and take the alarm. Is it then as certain as he appears to believe, that, when islanders invite you to visit their habitations, it is with the project of there butchering you? Most assuredly, I shall always recommend to navigators not to put themselves, with imprudent confidence, in the power of the unknown people that they discover, even of those who, on a first interview, shew themselves under the most prepossessing exterior, and announce dispositions the most peaceable and friendly; but it is not fair to judge these people without having tried them. The Editor of DIXON's Journal decides, at first sight, that the inhabitants of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands are cannibals, because they invited the English to go on shore: but, whatever confidence he may have in his own discernment, we must be permitted not to participate in it, when we see Captain CHANAL, Surgeon ROULET, and the other French who accompanied them, comply with the invitation of these pretended cannibals, visit

visit their habitations, and receive from them nothing but civility and repeated marks of good-will and kindness. These savages, however, were not ignorant that this handful of strangers whom a single boat had landed on their coast, without a ship to protect it by her imposing presence, possessed articles of the greatest utility to them, well calculated to make them yield to the temptation of getting possession of these by force, since, having no furs to offer in exchange, they had no other means to obtain what they so much coveted: yet they made no attempt to procure for themselves these commodities by violence or theft; nor did they even appear to harbour such an idea. - On the contrary, always eagerly attentive to their guests, without being troublesome, they seemed intent only on discharging towards them the duty of hospitality. The French never saw them either armed, or distrustful; they followed them into their family circles, and found them good husbands and good fathers; they lived several days, as it were, in intimacy with them; they studied them, as much as it is possible to do when people can explain themselves only by signs; and every thing that they relate of their manners, their customs, and their character, announces a hospitable, mild, intelligent, laborious, and industrious people, endowed with great good sense, to whom the useful arts are not unknown, who join to these even the agreeable ones, and who may be

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said to have already made manifest advances towards civilization. Can these testimonies be counterbalanced, or merely weakened, by that of a navigator who had but a glimpse of these people; who passed but half an hour off CLOAK Bay to trade there for three hundred beaver-skins, which were rather given to him than sold; who trafficked with as much facility for fifteen hundred other furs, in running along the coast, always under sail, and never venturing to set his foot on shore? Certainly, if he considered them as cannibals, although, however, they never threatened to eat him, at least he could not have found them difficult in traffic; for he had all their furs for the price which his good pleasure was pleased to fix, that is, for almost nothing. I am not an apologist for savage people; never have I fallen into ecstasy before the *man of Nature*; never have I participated in the opinion of certain philosophers who have racked their imagination and put in play the illusion of eloquence, for the purpose of shewing him to us as the most excellent of men: I am not here examining whether man be good, or whether he be wicked through his nature, nor what he may have lost or gained in the state of great societies; but let us not judge so precipitately, and without knowing them, the people of that unhappy AMERICA which has so much reason to complain of us. If it were possible that ever an American should write the history of his country,

he would paint that man of the Old World, that European who boasts of his civilization, who proclaims philanthropy, he would paint him, not as eating men, although it be not proved that, in all times, he has abstained from the practice, but as causing them to be devoured by ferocious animals which he has trained to carnage; he would paint him as the destroyer of two powerful empires, as the executioner of their sovereigns and of their innumerable inhabitants, the race of whom he has caused to disappear from the face of the country that gave them birth; he would paint him in short, and with reason perhaps, as the most destructive scourge that ever desolated the human species.

After having rounded HIPPAH Island to the southward, Captain CHANAL examined the channel which separates it from the main land of the large island. At the southern mouth of this channel, is seen a shoal, and a rocky ledge on which grow sea-leeks and bamboos. The tide which was coming out of it, and the wind that was blowing down it, drove the long-boat violently back to the southward.

Captain CHANAL directed his route to reconnoitre the entrance of RENNEL's Strait, and wait at this place of rendezvous, till the SOLIDE appeared sufficiently near the land for him to be able to join her. The part of the coast, comprehended between HIPPAH Island and the entrance of RENNEL's Strait, is very high and steep; it exhibits a deep

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deep bay, at the head of which is perceived a fine beach of white sand.

At half past three o'clock, he discovered, at the distance of two leagues, the *SOLIDE* standing in for the land: he steered to join her, and at five o'clock in the afternoon, the long-boat got alongside, and was hoisted in.

Before I resume the sequel of the ship's voyage, I shall present all the various productions of the soil, that Captain CHANAL saw and examined on the west part of the largest of *QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S* Islands which he surveyed, and which, reckoning from the fifty-fourth parallel, extends first five leagues to the southward, and thence, takes a general direction to the south-south-east as far as the latitude of $53^{\circ} 25'$.

All this part of the coast is covered with wood; the mountains of the interior present the same aspect, their sides are equally wooded, and their summits only are naked, and appeared steril. Pines and firs of a vigorous vegetation prevail in this immense forest; and here are seen interspersed the birch, a species of willow, and some hazel-trees of a very handsome growth.

In the different places where our voyagers landed, they found several shrubs and plants which grow on the soil of *FRANCE*: the raspberry-tree, the wild currant-tree, the rose-tree, which has been already mentioned, celery, parsley, purslain, water-cress, dock, great centaury, the nettle, a

species of mallow, a species of fern, the root of which has the taste of that of liquorice, the lily of the valley, a queen daisy, like the simple daisy of our gardens, and a few other plants which the journal indicates in a lump, and without any particular description: they were astonished to see every where, scattered in patches, plants of peas and vetches; and they judged that they must be a natural and spontaneous production of the soil; for it is not to be presumed that, if some other navigator besides DIXON, who landed nowhere, has visited this coast, he took a pleasure in sowing these legumes in all the places where their plants abounded. They ate of these peas, and they perceived no difference, in point of flavour and delicacy, from those which are eaten in FRANCE. They grow naturally, like those which were seen at TCHINKITÂNAY, on all the elevated spots of the shore in open places. In CHANAL'S Harbour was found a wild apple-tree which bore fruit of a small species. Every thing concurs to favour the idea that if culture excited and directed the fecundity of this land, it would be susceptible of being enriched with the greater part of the productions which procure and maintain abundance on the portion of the globe that the French inhabit.

Sea and land birds appear in very numerous flights; they are of the same species as those which are met with in CLOAK Bay and Cox's Channel. Hunting and fishing insure, at all seasons,

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the subsistence of the natives. Fishes abound on the coast in such quantities, that half an hour was sufficient for taking, with two lines only, all that the long-boat's crew wanted for a day's consumption ; and the quality of them was excellent.

The French did not make a stay sufficiently long to be able to judge of the climate of this coast : all that can be said of it, is that during the time of the survey which they made of it, the weather was constantly very fine ; on shore, they experienced during the day, and especially during the calm that prevailed in the morning, a sensible heat, such as is experienced, in the latitude of PARIS, in the months of April and May ; and, in the night, the dews were very copious.

In speaking of the language of TCHINKITÂNAY, I mentioned beforehand the numerical terms employed at QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, such as Captain CHANAL could collect them at CLOAK Bay ; he observes that some of these terms are common to the other parts of these islands which he visited ; as well as some other terms which he was able to catch, and by which the natives express the following articles :

<i>Quiné</i>	- - - - -	A present.
<i>Couteſk</i>	- - - - -	A waistcoat or jacket.
<i>Nock</i>	- - - - -	A fur.
<i>Tesch</i>	- - - - -	Fire.
<i>Peckek</i>	- - - - -	A box.
<i>Smoguet</i>	- - - - -	A chief.

The similitude of numerical and other terms employed equally by the different tribes separated from each other, that occupy the part of the coasts of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands which Captain CHANAL visited, seems to me to demonstrate, against the hazarded opinion of the Editor of DIXON'S Journal, that these tribes have an habitual communication with each other : this identity of language might also prove that the tribes which inhabit these islands have a common origin.

The operations of trade had been very languid on this northern part of the west coast of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands ; and Captain MARCHAND judged that traffic would not assume more activity, if he persisted in following the track of the English, who, in their successive and frequent excursions, must, for some time, have exhausted the riches of the country. He therefore renounced the project, which he had at first had, of reconnoitring the southern part of the islands as far as Cape JAMES, thus named by DIXON *, which terminates to the southward the archipelago of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands. The hope of procuring furs on the coast of the continent, at NOOTKA Sound, which was then thought to adjoin to it, appeared no better founded : this harbour was, for a long time past, known to have been frequented by the English, dispatched from ASIA and EUROPE,

* Before named Cape HECTOR, by *La Pérouse*.

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who, in some measure, had taken possession of it, and would, undoubtedly, have settled themselves there firmly, and have made it the centre of their fur-trade, had not SPAIN opposed what she called an invasion of her territory. This is not the place to examine whether it be sufficient for a power of EUROPE to have reconnoitred at a distance a foreign coast, even to have hoisted there, by the way, a flag on the summit of some cape, or planted a cross, to the report of cannon, for the whole country to become for ever its exclusive property; only it could not but be supposed that the visit of the Spaniards had carried off in this quarter, the few furs which might have escaped the researches and avidity of the English. All these considerations, and others of which I am perhaps ignorant, must have presented themselves to the mind of the French captain; and it was, no doubt, after having weighed them, that he determined not to begin his traffic on the coast of the continent, till he reached BERKLEY Sound, situated to the southward of NOOTKA, in the latitude of 49° , and to extend it from this point, by running down again as far as Cape MENDOCINO, situated between the parallels of 41 and 42 degrees. He might hope, that this quarter, still almost unknown, had not been visited by navigators whom the assurance of a more abundant harvest had, most probably, called to QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands; he might flatter himself that, by operations

tions well conducted with a people who might not have traded before, he would make up for the time which he had uselessly consumed in following a beaten track, and in requiring, from exhausted countries, a produce which could no longer be expected but from one where the Europeans had not yet made their harvest.

Captain MARCHAND therefore stood for the entrance of BERKLEY Sound, and he intended to follow the coast to the southward on leaving this harbour, as far and as long as the season should allow.

On the 4th of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he got sight of the coast of AMERICA, bearing from north-north-east to north-east by east. Two sets of distances of the sun and moon, observed at twenty-five minutes past four, gave $129^{\circ} 58' 30''$ of west longitude; and the latitude of the ship at the same instant, deducing it from that which had been observed at noon, was $49^{\circ} 41'$. This position placed the ship to the north-west by west of BERKLEY Sound, to the west-north-west 4° west of NOOTKA Sound, at the distance of nine leagues from the latter, and about four leagues from the land which appeared the nearest.

* See Note XLII.

† See Note XLIII, and the *Journal of the Route*, of the date of the 4th September 1791.

Captain

Captain MARCHAND kept the ship's head to the offing during the night; and, on the morning of the 5th, the fog which enveloped the land did not allow of its being distinguished before ten o'clock. During the morning, the elements exhibited to view various flocks: whales in great numbers were playing round the ship; and flocks of ducks, divers, auks, cormorants, and gulls were crossing their flight in all directions, some skimming the surface of the water, others winging their way through the air.

The colour of the sea appeared all at once to change and assume a dirty tint; but, on taking a cast of the lead, no bottom could be struck with a line of eighty fathoms.

A clear interval, at noon, allowed of an observation being had of the sun's meridian altitude, and thence the latitude of the ship was found to be $48^{\circ} 51'$: her longitude deduced, by the dead reckoning, from the observation of the day before, was $128^{\circ} 56'$.

At this period, was distinguished to the northward a bight, which Captain MARCHAND judged to be NOOTKA Sound; and, from the position of the ship, the land which bore east by north could be no other than the northern extremity of BERKLEY Sound: the fog still prevented him from seeing the land which terminates its entrance on the south side.

He ran in for the land till five o'clock in the afternoon, and, at that time, he stood out to sea till five o'clock the next morning.

At noon on this day, the 6th, he was, by observation, in latitude $48^{\circ} 59'$, that is, within a minute of the parallel of BERKLEY Sound, from which he was distant no more than four or five leagues to the westward. From NOOTKA to BERKLEY Sound, the coast appears to form a sort of gulf, terminated by lofty mountains, the summits only of which were perceptible; the fog concealed the view of their base. He distinguished several openings which might afford good anchorage; they are formed by high, detached lands, that seemed to be nothing but islands near which there appeared others lower and smaller. But the fog, which was not dispersed, did not allow Captain MARCHAND to engage with the coast in order to reconnoitre it more closely.

In the afternoon, he stood to the offing with a faint breeze from the southward, which, at four o'clock, was succeeded by a dead calm. As the currents set in towards the land, although with no great velocity, at six o'clock the stream anchor was dropped in fifty fathoms water, over a bottom of fine black, oozy sand. The northern point of BERKLEY Sound then bore east 1 or 2° south; and the nearest land was from two leagues and a half to three leagues distant.

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The next day, the 7th, at six o'clock in the morning, were perceived five canoes, which had come from the part of the coast that bore north-north-east, steering for the ship which then successively approached. Each of these canoes carried six men, all of a certain age: in that which first came near the ship, was a man somewhat more advanced in years, who stood up, on approaching the side, and sang for several minutes. In these five canoes, no other furs were seen than some tolerably large pieces of bear-skin. To the eyes of those who were in them, Captain MARCHAND ordered several European commodities and utensils to be displayed, and, at the same time, gave them to understand that he wished to have, in exchange, otter-skins, samples of which he exhibited to them. They made him comprehend that they were going a fishing; but that, if he would repair to an opening which they pointed out to the north-east of the point where the SOLIDE was at anchor, he might there procure skins of the species of those which he required. After having stopped near the ship for half an hour, they directed their route towards the offing, where, no doubt, they were going to wait for whales; and they drew up in a well-formed line, leaving an equal interval between each canoe.

These Americans are much fairer than those who inhabit TCHINKITANAY Bay; their whole clothing consisted of rugs, some of which were woven

woven of the filaments of bark, and others, of wool, appeared, from the pattern, to be of Spanish manufacture; they also wore necklaces of glass-beads, ear-pendants, and bracelets of plaited brass wire, from which hung some bobs of the same metal; they shewed an European fish-hook, and gave the French to understand that they had it, as well as their woollen blankets, from a ship like the *SOLIDE*. Some had, round their head, a piece of blue cloth, twisted after the manner of the natives of *BARBARY*. Their hats of rush, plaited like those of the *Tchinkitanayans*, differ from these a little in shape, which is that of a flower-pot turned upside-down, with strait rims, and terminated like a bell in its upper part. Our voyagers did not see them long enough to be able to examine their persons minutely; they appeared strongly made and robust, but very ugly and rather thin; their hair is black and straight: five or six only among them had their face smeared with a sort of ochre.

(Canoes) Their canoes are constructed with still greater intelligence and art than any of those which had been seen on the coast, although, in general, all the natives of this quarter excel in that kind of work: they are likewise larger. They are from thirty to thirty-five feet in length, and their greatest breadth is three feet: they are hollowed out of a single trunk of a tree, and the stem is raised by pieces joined firmly, and in a workmanlike manner,

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to the body of the canoe: the after part is terminated in a round and perpendicular stern: they have throughout their whole length a slight sheer; and the rising of their floor forward and aft is fashioned in a manner so advantageous for going through the water, that an European builder would not disclaim them: and, indeed, they make their way with surprising velocity. All the work of them is, in other respects, admirably finished; and, of the five canoes which the French examined, not one made a drop of water. An idea may be given of these little vessels, by comparing them, for the figure of the rising of their floor forward and aft, to the boats of the Catalonians, or to the pilot-boats of the river of BORDEAUX; but they are narrower, and have the gunwale less raised in proportion to their length: their stem is also more flaring and stands higher. The Americans move them with paddles which appear intended to serve both for an oar and an offensive weapon; for the blade, or the part which is dipped into the water, is terminated in a point; and, on the whole, this paddle bears a resemblance to a lance.

No other weapon was seen in their canoes, nor any other European commodities than those which have been mentioned. But their implements for fishing particularly attracted the attention of the French seamen. A strong lance, twelve or thirteen feet long, cut to a point at one of the ends, and strengthened, at certain distances, by broad wood-ings

ings of cord which afford to the hand points of rest, and prevent it from slipping; two or three lances, more slender and without being strengthened, but of the same length; two or three pieces of rope of two inches or two inches and a half in circumference; an equal number of leathern bottles, three feet long by fifteen inches diameter, filled with air; lastly, a chest containing harpoons, lines, fish-hooks, and other fishing gear, composed the equipment of each of the canoes.

Weapon On the request of the French, the natives were eager to explain to them, in the best way they could, the use which they make of all this furniture; and, as well as our voyagers could comprehend, this is the manner in which they proceed in their great whale-fishing. The strong lance, which may be called their unerring lance, is intended for striking the whale, when he presents himself on the surface of the water; and never does an American fail to wound him at the first stroke: instantly, the slighter lances are employed for darting the harpoons, to each of which is fastened one of the long pieces of rope: the other end of the line is fixed to one of those large bladders filled with air: this sort of balloons, floating on the water, cease not to indicate the place where to find the whale, dead or wounded, that has carried with him a harpoon: and the fishermen, directed by this signal, follow him up, and celebrate, by songs of joy, their victory and

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and conquest *. But the most difficult is not, undoubtedly, to deprive the monster of life; it remains for them to get possession of him: and it would never be believed, if we were not assured of the fact, that with skiffs so slight and ticklish, as canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, a few men should succeed in dragging, the space of four or five leagues, an enormous mass, and contrive to run it on shore on a beach where they can cut it up: it cannot be believed that it was given to men, who are not sons of gods, to execute, with the sole help of their hands, these real labours of HERCULES. It seems that Nature, by particularly appropriating the whale to the cold seas which wash the boreal and austral shores, meant, in some measure, to indemnify and console those unfortunate countries to which she has refused the gift of fertility, by endowing their inhabitants, in a superior degree, with the courage and dexterity necessary for attacking and conquering the animal that is to supply a part of their wants, and whose imposing bulk and formidable agility should seem to secure him from the enterprises of an enemy comparatively so weak as man. We see the Greenlander, like the Triton of the fable who parades his bust on the waters, alone, encircled to

* It appears that the proceedings employed in whale-fishing by the natives of BERKLEY Sound, differ little from those of the inhabitants of NOOTKA, which have been described by Captain Meares. (See his Voyage, page 258 and following.)

the waft in his skin-sack, identified, in a manner, with his leather skiff which is scarcely above the level of the waves and which he moves and manages with a double paddle, we fee him attack with boldness, and conquer by skill, a living mountain, a monster whose immense mouth would be sufficient to swallow up, like a gudgeon, the skiff and the Greenlander.

On the arrival of the American canoes, Captain MARCHAND had at first flattered himself that they brought furs: but of these they were entirely destitute; and he was soon certain that the only motive of their visit was to gratify the curiosity of those who conducted them. At ten o'clock in the morning, two other canoes approached the ship; the people in them, contemplated her for a few moments, and pursued their route.

The place where the SOLIDE had anchored in the offing, was situated to the westward of the northern point of BERKLEY Sound, at the distance of two leagues and a half or three leagues. Captain MARCHAND would willingly have remained at anchor till the moment when a favourable wind should permit him to gain the harbour; but an appearance of bad weather, and a strong westerly swell which began to affect the ship, determined him to get under sail and stand out to sea, by means of a light breeze that blew from the south-south-east.

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He ran in for the land again the next day when the wind was favourable to his course; but the fog did not yet allow him to steer for the entrance of BERKLEY Sound, which could not be perceived, and for the position of which in regard to the ship he depended solely on the dead reckoning. A clear interval which occurred in the afternoon, admitted of the land being seen; and the entrance of BERKLEY Sound was discovered to the north-east by east, at about four leagues' distance. At the same instant, was perceived, a league and a half ahead of the ship, a three-masted vessel. Captain MARCHAND judged that she was coming out of the harbour where he intended to trade, or of some bay in its vicinity: and the course she was steering to the south-south-east, left no doubt that her project was, like his own, to visit the southern parts of the coast. It was therefore nearly demonstrated that he would there be anticipated in every place, as he had been in the northern parts; and he relinquished the idea of going into BERKLEY Sound. Captain MARCHAND conceived that, in this state of things, what was of most consequence, was to get the start in the markets of CHINA of the ships which had got the start of him on the coast of AMERICA, and to endeavour to compensate for the smallness of the cargo by the advantageous price that might be obtained for it. This calculation was the more just, as it might
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be considered as probable, that, several of the trading ships arriving at the same time on the coast of CHINA, the competition of the venders would cause the furs to fall to prices very much below their ordinary value in trade, or necessitate their being stored, in order to wait for an opportunity which might promise a more favourable sale and a profit less uncertain.

The resolution of quitting the coast was communicated by Captain MARCHAND to his principal officers, and obtained general approbation. He determined that, without any farther delay, he would direct his course for CHINA; that he would endeavour, by carrying a press of sail, to shorten the duration of the passage; and that he would stop at the SANDWICH Islands, only the time absolutely necessary for procuring the ship the supplies, and the crew the refreshments of which they might stand in need.

The ship that had been perceived continued to follow the course which she was steering on coming out of BERKLEY Sound; she did not make known by a flag, to what nation she belonged; but, as it could not be doubted, from the sight of the blankets worn by the Americans who had visited the SOLIDE, that they were of Spanish manufacture, our voyagers were persuaded that the ship they had seen, was one of the frigates which the Spanish government had dispatched from CADIZ, before

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before the SOLIDE had quitted FRANCE *. All the public papers of EUROPE announced, at the time, that the vessels here indicated by Captain MARCHAND, were destined for a *Voyage of Discovery*; but there is reason to suspect and even to believe, that the Chevalier DE MALESPINA, to whom was intrusted the command of the expedition, had, besides, particular and secret instructions to visit, most minutely, all the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA; to ascertain whether the English were not undertaking to form there some clandestine settlement; and to acquire certain information respecting the facility, the presumable extent, and the produce of the fur-trade, in order that the Council of CASTILLE might, one day, examine and weigh in its wisdom, whether SPAIN should not enter into competition in that trade, and, in the execution of this project, turn to account the happy situation of the PHILIPPINES, which must balance with advantage that of the settlements which the English possess on the coast of HINDOSTAN and in BENGAL.

But, as Captain MARCHAND did not wish that the strange ship should be able to judge of his route, by his manœuvring, he continued to stand in for the land till night; and, when he was certain that the darkness would no longer allow of his being

* It was found, in the sequel, that the vessel seen by the French belonged to the *United States*.

perceived, he directed his route for CHINA, and took his departure from the latitude of $48^{\circ} 46'$ north, and longitude of $128^{\circ} 48'$ west from PARIS*.

* See Note XLIV.

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CHAPTER VI.

*Conjecture respecting the manner in which the North-West Coast of America may have been peopled.—
General views of this Coast and of both Americas in regard to civilization.*

THE west coast of NORTH AMERICA, a knowledge of which, though posterior by three hundred years to the first discovery of the New Continent, was obtained, towards the close of this century, deserves that, before we take leave of it, we should consider it under some general points of view, till researches more multiplied, and carried to a greater depth, have enabled us to examine it under particular relations. A comparison of the notions which we have acquired of that part of the coast comprehended between the fifty-second and the fifty-seventh parallels, and of the islands which are situated in its vicinity, has led me to form a conjecture respecting the manner in which this portion of the western border of AMERICA may have been peopled, and respecting the origin of the different tribes which are at this day disseminated over its vast extent.

The people who inhabit the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, at the period of the discovery, by no means appeared in that state of primitive

simplicity which, perhaps, was known on our continent only in the chimerical descriptions of our poets: they were even no longer in the first infancy of social life. The man of nature, the man of the forests, is not taken up with trifles, or superfluities; the want, ever-reviving, of providing for his subsistence absorbs all his moral and physical faculties: the man even who begins to unite himself in family societies has not yet any other ideas than those the object of which is the preservation of himself and his family. But, on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, we have found houses with two stories, fifty feet in length, thirty-five feet in breadth, and twelve or fifteen feet in height*, in which the assemblage of the framing and the strength of the wood ingeniously make up for the want of the more solid materials which, in order to be detached from the sides of the mountains or extracted from the bowels of the earth, require machines too complicated for the Americans to have been already able to have invented them: we see, in the small islands which would scarcely be thought habitable†, each habitation with a portal that occupies the whole elevation of the fore-front, surmounted by wooden statues erect, and ornamented on its jambs with carved figures of birds, fishes, and other animals; we

* See page 400, and following of this volume.

† *Ibid.* page 403.

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there see a sort of temples *, monuments in honour of the dead †; and, what, undoubtedly, is no less astonishing, pictures painted on wood, nine feet long by five feet broad, on which all the parts of the human body, drawn separately, are represented in different colours; the features of which, partly effaced, attest the antiquity of the work, and remind us of those large pictures, those emblematical paintings, those hieroglyphics which served the people of MEXICO in lieu of written history: all the articles of furniture in use among the natives are covered with various ornaments of carved-work, intaglio, and in relief, and species of hieroglyphics; and these ornaments are not destitute of agreeableness and of a sort of perfection ‡; dresses,

* See page 408, of this volume.

† *Ibid.* pages 407 and 408.

‡ The editor of *Dixon's* journal, whose voyage embraces the whole of the north-west coast, from *Nootka* Sound to *Cook's* River, tells us, when he is treating of this coast in general, that "the Indians are very fond of masks or visors, and various kinds of caps, such as birds, beasts, fishes, and sometimes representations of the human face; they have likewise many of these devices carved in wood, and some of them far from being ill executed."

"Whether or no they make use of any hieroglyphics to perpetuate the memory of events," adds he, "I cannot say; though their numerous drawings of birds and fishes, and their carved representations of animals and human faces, might, perhaps, warrant a supposition of the kind. Many of these carvings are well proportioned, and executed with a considerable degree of ingenuity, which appears rather extraordinary amongst a people so remote from civilized refinement."

dresses, studied and whimsical, but very complex and varied, are reserved for games, festivals, ceremonies, and battles *: lastly, among these people are found flutes or *Pan's pipes*, with eleven tubes; and the harp, that complicated instrument, was known there in ancient times, since they have the representation of it in some of their carvings. Thus architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, are found united, and in some measure naturalized, in a country whose inhabitants, in other respects, still appear in the state of savages.

It is not in pursuing the animals of the forests, that the inhabitant of the NORTH-WEST coast, who at this day appears to make hunting his principal occupation, because want dictates it, can have acquired the idea of a compound architecture, and of that taste, that talent of imitation. The hunter, on returning from his sport, rests himself, eats,

"*ment. But then we must consider that on the north-west coast*
 "*of America this art is far from being in its infancy; a fond-*
 "*ness for carving and sculpture was discovered amongst these*
 "*people by Captain Cook: iron implements were then also*
 "*in use; and their knives are so very thin that they bend*
 "*them into a variety of forms, which answers their every*
 "*purpose nearly as well as if they had recourse to a carpen-*
 "*ter's tool-chest. At what period iron was introduced on*
 "*this coast is very uncertain, but it must, doubtless, be a*
 "*considerable time ago; and I may venture to assert that*
 "*their implements are not of English manufacture, so that*
 "*there is little doubt of their being obtained from the*
 "*Russians."* (See *Dixon's Voyage*, pages 242 and 243.)

* See page 333 of this volume.

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and sleeps; the hut which scarcely suffices for sheltering him from the inclemency of the weather, suffices also for his habitual abode, and he neither endeavours nor thinks to enlarge or adorn it: luxury, superfluities, and the agreeable arts, even rudely executed, belong only to the man who, having leisure, is tormented by the want of employing his idleness. It may therefore be concluded that the people, at this day given up to hunting, among whom the taste of these arts is prevailing and their general employment, have not created them in the solitude of the woods; that they brought them thither from some other place; that they have borrowed them; and that it descends not originally from a people who have been nothing but hunters.

If we examine the inhabitants of the NORTH-WEST coast in moral points of view, we discover other vestiges of ancient civilization. We find, in the languages spoken, a multiplicity of words which savage people have not, and which bespeaks the abundance of their conceptions*: we are astonished at the advancement of their reason, which renders them capable of seizing abstract ideas†, explained, as it were, by signs and gestures, since they are thus conveyed to them by strangers who scarcely know a few words of the language of him who listens, and the only one that he understands: we admire the efforts of genius strug-

* See page 364 of this volume.

† *Ibid.* page 371.

gling with little means, and yet with success, against great difficulties * ; in their naval architecture, a perfection which, in miniature, equals that of ours † ; in the management of their canoes, a dexterity that we could scarcely match ; in all their handicraft works, a degree of refinement and a finish that denote an industry anciently improved by principles which time has not been entirely able to destroy : their singular intelligence and skill in barter ‡, their cunning even, lead us to think that this kind of traffic is of a remote date among them ; and that it is not we who have introduced it : in short, the fixed and determined idea which they have of property §, inclines us to presume the existence of a sort of social compact, dictated by Nature, sanctioned by Reason, and observed among them more religiously, perhaps, than if penal laws commanded its observance.

If ever we come to understand the different languages spoken on the different points of the coast, perhaps in those concerts in parts which they repeat in a family way, after their meals and in the hours of rest ||, and in which each by-stander mingles his voice, with a composure of the senses which announces that of the mind, perhaps we shall discover some trace of their origin, or the fable that serves them in lieu of history ; these songs may be an

* See page 405 of this volume, and preceding.

† Ibid. page 346.

‡ Ibid. page 358.

§ Ibid. page 359.

|| Ibid. page 354.

oral tradition, as well as their hieroglyphics a written one; a people who sing are a poetical people; and it is well known that, in all countries, poets were the first historians, and that the first history was nothing more than a collection of songs.

For want of a guide, let us try in the dark, in the obscurity which envelops the first information that the present possessors of MEXICO acquired at the time of their invasion, whether we shall not find some point of rest on which we may hazard a surmise that, if it appear sufficiently well-founded, may at least, by calling to this object the attention and the inquiries of the learned, give rise some day to a more substantial conjecture.

If it be true, as every thing seems to prove, that ASIA peopled the west coast of NORTH AMERICA; if we are to place any faith in the traditions which the Mexicans had concerning their own origin, and which, imperfect as they were, had been preserved with more care and deserved more confidence than those of any people of the two AMERICAS, we might believe with them that their ancestors came from a distant country, situated to the north-west of their empire: they even pointed out the different places where these strangers had stopped in advancing gradually into the provinces inland; and this is precisely the route which they must have held, supposing that they

came

came from the north of ASIA *. In fact, the transmigration must have begun to be effected on the northern

* The description which the Mexicans gave of the person, of the manners, and of the mode of life of their ancestors at this period, is the faithful picture of the savage tribes of the Tartars from whom they are supposed to be descended. (*Robertson's History of America*, Book IV.)

According to *Clavigero* (*History of Mexico*) the tradition of the Mexicans implied that, previously to the foundation of the Empire, towards the year 1160, they inhabited a country called *Aztlan*, situated to the north and not far from the Gulf of *California* (this is the position of the north-west coast of *America* to the north of the *Vermilion Sea*). In advancing towards the south they at first crossed the *Rio Colorado*, which has its mouth at the top of the Gulf of *California*, then *la Gilpa*, which is a branch of the *Colorado*; and this latter passage was made in a place where are still seen the remains of a great structure which they had raised. (See the English translation of *Clavigero's* work, under the title of *History of Mexico, collected from Spanish and Mexican Historians*, &c. London, 1787. vol. ii. pages 208 to 210.)

The ignorance of the conquerors of *Mexico*, who, in their expeditions, had no other object than to find and collect gold, has left in obscurity the annals of this empire: amid the thick gloom which surrounds its cradle, we can only distinguish that its foundation is not ancient; and in referring it to the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, we carry it back as far as conjectures and probabilities can authorize.

According to Dr. *Reinhold Forster* "The ancient Mexicans and Peruvians seem to be descended from those nations whom *Kublai-Khan* sent to conquer *Japan*, and who were dispersed by a dreadful storm; and it is probable," adds he, "that some of them were thrown on the coast of *America*, and there formed those two great empires, *Mexico* and *Peru*." (See *Reinhold Forster's Observations*, &c. page 316.)

However

northern parts of the west coast of AMERICA; and soon, insensibly attracted by the allurements of a progressive increase of heat, towards the places which the sun lights longer and fecundifies by its presence, part of the transplanted Asiatics may have reached the fertile plains of MEXICO, where the beauty of the climate and the richness of the soil must have determined them to fix their abode. But, when terror which marched before CORTES,

However just the deference we must have for an opinion broached by Dr. Forster, I could not propose to adopt this: in fact, when we know the sort of vessels which *Kublai-Khan* may have been able to dispatch from the coast of *Asia* in order to send them to conquer *Japan*, when we know the construction of the Chinese junks and the manner of navigating them, we cannot conclude with *Forster*, that it is *probable* that these junks, after having been dispersed by a storm, were driven *three thousand marine leagues* from the place whence they took their departure, touched on the *north-west* coast of *America*, and, after a passage of *four thousand leagues*, arrived on the coast of *Peru*: we may even observe that, to reach this latter point, they would have to cross, diagonally, against the wind, all the part of the torrid zone comprehended between *Asia* and *America*; and it is well known that even for modern ships and navigators, this passage would present great difficulties, and require too considerable a portion of time for us to be able to suppose that the junks were provided with the quantity of provisions and water necessary for so long a run. I add that the passage of the Asiatics into *America* by the ships of *Kublai-Khan* would scarcely be more probable, if it were meant that the whole of the junks had landed on the *north-west* coast, or even on that of *Mexico*; for the men who, in this hypothesis, would be supposed to have founded the empire of the south, would have had to travel about a thousand leagues by land (and by what roads!) in order to repair from *Mexico* to *Peru*.

who came from the east, drove the Mexicans from the centre of the empire towards the points of the circumference opposite to the course of the desolating torrent, then a part of the new Americans must have gone towards the north-west, rather than towards the south-east where the country, too much confined between the two oceans, and occupied by inaccessible mountains, afforded too little space to flight, too few resources for the wants of life: like the defenceless flock pursued by a wild beast, their routed families must have quickened their steps, and not have stopped in [their course till there was no land before them. Having reached the coasts washed by the GREAT WESTERN SEA, they have scattered themselves over this immense border where the ocean, on the one hand, and the forests, on the other, offered them a double mean of subsistence; and they must have left in the intervals of the settlements which they formed according to the different directions that they had kept in their flight, some of the primitive settlements of the various tribes who had not been able to quit the coast at the period when others had forsaken it in order to form an empire. Happy still those whom an irresistible force drove away from their natal land! Happy to find again in the ancient forests of their forefathers, an asylum against the inquisition of cupidity, against tyranny, and slavery, which, of the finest empire of the

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the NEW WORLD, in an instant, but perhaps for ever, made a vast solitude!

It is not therefore without the sphere of probability that the NORTH-WEST COAST should reckon three species of inhabitants; of the first date, the men who might belong originally to the very soil of AMERICA, if, however, we are to adopt the opinion, that this large country had its own men or aborigines, as it has its animals and its plants: of the second date, the Asiatics of the north, whose transmigration is attested by the ancient chronicle of MEXICO: lastly, and of the third date, the Mexicans who had fled for refuge to the coast after the destruction of their empire. But, if we may judge from the notions which we have acquired respecting this part of the New Continent, the last species of inhabitants appears to prevail over the first two: every where, as has been seen, appear the traces of an ancient civilization; every thing indicates that the men, with whom we have had an opportunity of being acquainted, have belonged to a great people; and that this people were not a nation of hunters; for they were fond of the agreeable arts, and knew how to multiply the productions of them: in short, the tribes which at this day we meet with disseminated over the NORTH-WEST coast, seem to be the remains of a large society; and this large society can be no other than that which the union of a great number of wandering hordes, assembled under a chief,

chief, had formed, three centuries ago, in the vast plains of MEXICO, where they had built cities and founded an empire.

This conjecture may appear hazarded ; and as, till now, the information which we have acquired, presents in its support no proof that cannot, if not be destroyed, at least be combated, I ought not to endeavour to defend it by those subsidiary and far-fetched means, by which some men frequently endeavour to prop a system. I shall confine myself to answering two objections which I have started against myself, and which, doubtless, might occur to others.

The first is the diversity of the languages spoken on the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA, which, at very little distances, differ absolutely from each other. For instance, the language of TCHINKITANAY, as has been seen, appears to have no affinity to that of NOOTKA, which is at no great distance, nor even to that of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands which are at a still less distance ; and we might think ourselves justified in concluding from this difference, which, in general, is a tolerably certain indication of the difference of origins, that the tribes that occupy these three points of the coast, although very similar at this day, cannot have had a common origin.

I shall first answer that the identity of languages may probably prove the identity of origin ; but that their diversity is not always a proof that the origin

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origin of the people is not common : travel along the Gulf of GASCONY, the west coast of FRANCE, from BREST to BAYONNE, you will hear spoken three languages which have not between them any similitude, *Bas Breton*, *French*, and *Biscayan*, would you thence conclude that the inhabitants of this coast have not a remote common origin ?

Do not therefore conclude, from the inhabitants of TCHINKITANAY, those of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands and those of NOOTKA, speaking different languages, that the men settled at this day on the three points of the coast, come not from MEXICO in their remote origin. I even find, for this difference of languages, several explanations which, I think, will not appear forced.

First, I observe that, if, as is probable, the refugees from MEXICO, on their return into their ancient country, intermingled the new settlements which they formed, with old settlements of the primitive inhabitants of the coast, originally their ancestors, they may probably have brought back thither no remnant of the primitive language which, for a long time past, may have ceased to be theirs : it is well known that the savage nations have a very rude, very circumscribed language ; and it is natural to suppose that the first Asiatico-Americans of the NORTH-WEST coast, after having established a great empire in MEXICO, must, in order to express their new ideas, have created a language, and even several particular dialects, in which the
words

words of the first language, which may have been incorporated into it, must, by getting polished by the way, have been disfigured to such a degree, that they are become incognizable to the primitive inhabitants of the coast, as the primitive language is itself become incognizable to the refugees of MEXICO who spoke the new languages.

But I go farther: and, supporting myself by the testimony and authority of the learned CLAVIGERO, who, in his HISTORY OF MEXICO, tells us that, on the space which the empire occupied, were reckoned *thirty-five idioms absolutely different from each other* *. I shall say that, even supposing that all the tribes which at present occupy the NORTH-WEST coast as far as the elbow and the bend of the New Continent towards the west, came latterly from MEXICO, and that, in former times, there had not remained on this coast any of the transplanted Asiatics, still it would not be astonishing, I shall even add that it would be in the order of things and events, that these tribes should speak languages absolutely different; for the transmission must have principally taken place in the provinces the most remote from the centre of the empire, where the sword had destroyed or subdued every thing, from those of the west, of the north, and even of the south: now, it is probable, and

* The reader will not be surpris'd at this, if he reflect that the Mexican nation was formed of the union of a great number of wandering hordes who had assembled under a chief.

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I might even say that it is proved, that in MEXICO, which, in this respect, is not likely to differ from the empires of EUROPE, the inhabitants of the frontiers did not speak, nor even understand the language of the capital, since there were reckoned on the territory which it occupied thirty-five idioms absolutely different; and it is known that a very small distance is sufficient for constituting an entire difference between the languages of two portions of the same country. Thus, supposing even that the whole of the NORTH-WEST coast were at this day inhabited only by Mexican refugees, if, as we must imagine, they come principally from different points of the frontiers, the diversity of the languages is rather a proof in favour of their Mexican and common origin, than it would be an objection against this conjecture.

Thus it is that we explain very naturally how NOOTKA and TCHINKITÂNAY, though distant from each other only about forty leagues, may have idioms absolutely different; and how, at QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S Islands, though situated between those two points, and separated from the continent only by an arm of the sea which is not more than twenty leagues wide, there may be spoken a third language which bears no resemblance whatever either to that of NOOTKA, or to that of TCHINKITÂNAY.

We find, as is seen, several causes of the diversity which is remarked in the languages of the

NORTH-WEST coast; and no reason presents itself that contradicts the conjecture of the transplantation to this coast of a part of the inhabitants of MEXICO after the destruction of the empire. It may so happen that some of these different idioms may be the *mother-tongue* of the Asiatico-Americans, the primitive inhabitants of the NORTH-WEST coast, that of which some trace might be again found of the principal language of MEXICO, whither such of the first inhabitants as abandoned the sea-shore must have repaired: and I am of opinion that it is particularly in the islands that it may be preserved: for those of the transplanted Asiatics who, originally, may have settled there, must have been less inclined to quit the sea, in order to spread themselves over the interior of the continent, than those who were wandering about the coast: the islander is sensible of the value of an insulated country, of the advantage of that wide ditch which surrounds him and protects him from an invasion or a surprise: and seldom is he tempted to transplant himself to the continent, where he must be apprehensive of finding neighbours, enemies, and too frequently a master and an oppressor. It is also in an island, in that to which NOOTKA belongs, that we find the language which appears to have the most affinity to the Mexican tongue; and this too, of the three places whose idioms we have compared *, is that which is nearest

* See page 380 of this volume.

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to MEXICO. We might therefore imagine that NOOTKA has preserved the primitive language of the Asiatico-Americans, and that a few words of it have passed into the principal language of MEXICO. ANDERSON, who has compiled a vocabulary of the language of NOOTKA, with which Captain COOK has enriched the journal of his third voyage*, tells us that "from the few Mexican words he was able to procure, there is the most "obvious agreement, in the very frequent terminations of the words in *l*, *th* †, or *z*, throughout "the language." "May we not," says Captain KING, who superintended the printing of COOK's Journal, "may we not, in confirmation "of Mr. ANDERSON's remark, observe, that "Opulzathl, the NOOTKA name of the sun; Vitziputzli, the name of the Mexican divinity, to "which they gave the titles of omnipotent, of "Lord of the world, have no distant affinity in "sound?" I think that we might improve on the remark of Captain KING, and say that this analogy is so manifest, so near the identity, that the learned, accustomed to study languages, to compare them with each other, and to deduce from this comparison, affinities either near or re-

* *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. ii. page 336.

† Which the English write *lhl*. A specimen may be seen of the numerical terms of *Nootka* which I have mentioned in page 380 of this volume of the final letters of the words *Allaquelth*, eight, and *Tsawaquulhl*, nine, are Mexican.

mote, might find in the two words mentioned more than one trait of resemblance, whether in the words themselves considered grammatically, or in the objects and in the idea of which they are the expression.

I will not push farther this discussion, the subject of which I have, in a manner, only pointed out; it would require an explanation that would carry me beyond the limits to which I must confine myself: it may be sufficient for me to have partly shewn in what has just been said, that, if the different tribes disseminated over the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA speak not the same tongue, if their languages offer not even any similitude, it must not thence be concluded that the greater part of these tribes came not from MEXICO after the destruction of the empire: the difference of the languages may, as has been seen, be accounted for; and it would fortify rather than weaken the conjecture of the transmigration from MEXICO to the coast.

We might obtain knowledge more direct, information more precise respecting the inhabitants of the NORTH-WEST coast through the English HUDSON'S Bay Company: established in this inland sea, the circumference of which they occupy exclusively, and which runs upwards of three hundred marine leagues into the interior of NORTH AMERICA, through latitudes which are the same as those of some of the known parts of the NORTH-WEST coast, they

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they might, by pushing their settlements, or merely their surveys, towards the west, gradually reach the coast of the GREAT BOREAL OCEAN. We see in the general charts of the world, published in 1790 and 1794, by the English geographer ARROWSMITH, that the agents of the Company have already extended their excursions as far as two hundred leagues to the westward of the western coast of HUDSON'S Bay: it is well known that having already reached STONY MOUNT, they have discovered passages through this chain of mountains; and there remains not a space of more than two hundred leagues to traverse, for the communication between the east coast and the west to be open and known. If these vast deserts, where scattered hordes, honoured with the name of *nations*, occupy here and there small districts, can ever become practicable to Europeans; if ever the eye of a philosophic observer can penetrate into them, perhaps it will become possible to discover some trace of the progress which the population of NORTH AMERICA has followed; to learn by what means the inhabitants of the NORTH-WEST coast had procured the iron and copper with which they were found to be provided before the arrival of the first European vessels on their coast, and what communications they maintained with the nations that occupy the interior, and perhaps, from tribe to tribe, with those of the east coast; to determine, in short, that sort of line of demarcation

which must exist, although partly effaced by time, between the men of EUROPE who, in former ages, peopled AMERICA from the east, and the men of ASIA who peopled it from the west.

But this is dwelling too long on a dream; I must not forget that the interest of the sciences and the progress of human knowledge will always find an invincible adversary in the mercantile interest of the HUDSON'S Bay Company: the fear of admitting others to a share of a lucrative trade, renders them cautious, to an excess, not to suffer its sources to be known; and the learned of their own nation have too frequently, and always without success, made them the reproach that they deserve for their concealment and the impenetrable mystery with which they envelop their operations and researches, for it to be allowable to hope that the voice of a foreigner, if ever it should penetrate into the counting-houses of the company, could induce them to reveal to mankind part of the common habitation, the knowledge of which they wish, for the sake of their interest, to reserve exclusively to themselves*.

After

* In the course of the war which France carried into America, in order to consolidate the independence of the United States, *La Pérouse*, commanding a division composed of a ship of the line and a frigate, made himself master of the settlements of the English company in Hudson's Bay. Among the papers which were found in the principal fort, was the manuscript of a very interesting journey, performed in 1773, by Mr.

Hearne,

After having answered the objection that might be drawn from the diversity of languages, against the transmigration of the refugees of MEXICO on the west coast of NORTH AMERICA, I must present another which might apparently seem better founded; but which, on examination, will appear only specious.

How happens it, will it be said, that the refugees of MEXICO, fashioned to government and to obe-

Hearne, the then commandant of these settlements. He had ascended rivers, crossed lakes, and, after long fatigues, reached the extreme coast of that part of *America*, beyond the polar circle, whence he had discovered the *Boreal* or *Hyperborean Sea*. *La Pérouse* was not willing to use the right of conquest; he generously restored to Mr. *Hearne* a work which he was pleased to consider as the personal property of that commandant, although the journey had been performed by the orders and at the expense of the company: however he annexed to this favour a condition to which Mr. *Hearne* made no difficulty to subscribe; this was to engage to print and publish the journal of his voyage as soon as he should return to *England*.

This publication was a long time expected; I have been told that there had at length appeared an account of Mr. *Hearne's* journey; and no one doubted that, having given his word, he would do honour to this engagement. But has he been at liberty to relate all he saw, to tell all he knows? It may be permitted to doubt this.

I had this anecdote from *La Pérouse* himself; and it most probably is mentioned in the official dispatches that gave an account of an expedition in which he found means to combine, with the rigours of war that philanthropic sensibility which, after victory, no longer makes a distinction between the victor and the vanquished, and which, in the sequel, procured him the flattering and deserved testimonies of the esteem and gratitude of our enemies,

dience, accustomed to enjoy advantages which result from the formation of large societies, have not endeavoured, after their dispersion, to assemble under a chief, to form themselves into a large body, to found a new empire from the wreck of the former? They had just experienced that the union of men into a large society does not always secure them from oppression, and that there is to be found a more numerous or stronger society that subjugates and enslaves the weaker. Besides, civilization had not yet taken deep roots; the people of the frontiers, more recently annexed to the empire, must have been civilized at a later period than those who had formed the *nucleus*; and the Mexicans who at this day people the coast, come from the border, since, in the interior, the sword which subdued their country had destroyed every thing, must likewise, by a natural bias, have returned sooner to the state of savages; for history informs us that the return from civilization to barbarism is incomparably more rapid than the passage from this latter state to the former; and in this several causes concur.

"In these small wild tribes," says Dr. FORSTER, "it is almost certain, that the still smaller societies, whom navigators have occasionally found, were nearly related to one another; which makes it probable, that they only keep together because they still find some benefit from their union and mutual assistance; and this

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“ makes the Europeans, who are used to civil
“ society, believe, that the ties of friendship and
“ blood still unite them; but it is quite other-
“ wise, for it is not the interest of savages to form
“ great bodies, in countries that are not rich in
“ food and animal productions; as soon as they
“ think themselves strong enough to set up a new
“ family, they separate and remove to parts un-
“ occupied by other families, where they have a
“ prospect of supporting their wives and children,
“ and perhaps a few younger brethren or sisters.
“ This evidently points out the true cause of the
“ debasement and degeneracy in savages; they
“ can neither profit by the assistance, nor by the
“ inventions and improvements of others, and
“ the smallness of their numbers affords but a
“ bad chance for a multiplicity of inventions or
“ improvements. The instructions and good ad-
“ vice of long experience are lost to them* ;”
and there scarcely remain more than a few traits
which time has not been quite able to efface, and
the trace of which, frequently interrupted, and
continued by conjectures, leads us partly to see
sometimes that hordes, at this day dispersed, must,
in more ancient times, have belonged to some
great civilized society that were acquainted with
the arts and had probably been no strangers to
laws.

* *R. Foster's Observations*, page 317.

But

But if man emerges with difficulty from the savage and dispersed state, he is ready to return to it as soon as he breaks those ties which detained him in a state of civilization: and the most civilized people are not exempt from falling back into barbarism. Look, on the banks of the NILE, for the place occupied by that DIOSPOLIS so famous, HECATOMPYLOS, THEBES, which opened her hundred gates to a hundred times ten thousand combatants that her walls contained; visit the fields where the BABYLON of SEMERAMIS displayed her wonders; those where shone PALMYRA, much less ancient; the plains, where other celebrated cities are hidden under the grass; some whose ruins even have perished*: examine the species of men who, already for a series of ages, inhabit here and there, and by intervals, countries formerly so civilized, so flourishing; you will have no difficulty to conceive that it requires not a succession of time so long as might at first be imagined, to bring back men, from the highest degree of civilization, to a state of barbarism, to make again of the civilized man a savage; and the period for the transition from the one state to the other must be the shorter, as the civil and political state of a people is the more new and the less improved.

Three centuries may therefore have sufficed for the Mexican of the frontiers, scarcely freed from the rust of barbarism, and driven back, by a sudden

* *Etiā periere ruinae.* LVC. PHARS.

irruption,

irruption, towards the forests of the NORTH-WEST coast to have been restored to the primitive and natural state whence a civilization hardly sketched out was beginning to make him emerge*.

The state in which the west coast of NORTH AMERICA appeared to the first voyagers who have made it known, by bringing back our thoughts to the New World, in general, leads us to cast a rapid glance on the two AMERICAS, in order to consider them together in regard to civilization.

Some philosophers have concluded from the physical state of both AMERICAS, that the formation of this continent, to whatever cause it may be ascribed, was much less ancient than that of the continent which we inhabit: the denomination of NEW WORLD has appeared to them not only to indicate the recency of its discovery, but also to apply to

* An extract from this chapter was read in one of the public sittings of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE: confined to limits which left no room for explanation, insulated from the descriptions of the *north-west* coast of *America*, which serve as a foundation for the *conjecture* which I have hazarded respecting the manner in which it is possible that the population of this western border of the north part of *America* has been effected, the extract may have appeared to the auditors nothing more than a series of hypotheses established on a base the solidity of which might be contested; but I dare flatter myself that, if the readers who shall have dwelt on the two preceding Chapters, find that this conjecture is not supported by convincing and decisive proofs (and unfortunately written history refuses them to us) at least they will not find that it is destitute of *probability*: when we are forced to walk in the dark, we make use of the blind man's stick to feel our way.

the

the period when, in more ancient times, it may have become the habitation of man : and the notions which we have acquired concerning the various tribes that occupied it when we landed there for the first time, would seem to support the opinion that has been formed concerning its recency, comparatively with that which we grant to our continent.

If we are not disposed to challenge all the testimonies of antiquity, we cannot refuse to believe that the Old World has had its infancy and its adolescence : and, observing it in its progressive career, we may consider it as in its maturity, and foresee, in an unlimited time, its decrepitude and its end. The New World, like the Old, must have had its periods. AMERICA, at the epoch of its discovery, appears as if little remote from creation; from infancy, if we consider it in regard to the men by whom it was inhabited : the greater part of its people were still at the point where our ancestors and those of all the nations at this day civilized, were, four thousand years ago. Read what travellers and historians have related to us of the inhabitants of the New World ; you will there find the man of the Old one in his infancy ; among the small scattered nations, you will fancy that you see the first Egyptians, wild and savage men, living at random, ignorant of the conveniences of life, even of the use of fire, and not knowing how to form arms for defending themselves against

against the attack of beasts *: in the *Pefferais* of TIERRA DEL FUEGO, the savage Greeks, living on the leaves of trees, and, as it were, browsing on grass, before PELASGUS had taught the Arcadians to construct huts, to clothe themselves with the skin of animals, and to eat acorns †; in the greater part of the savages of CANADA, the ancient Scythians, cutting off the hair of their vanquished enemies, and drinking their blood out of their skull ‡: in several of the nations of the north and south, the inhabitant of the EAST INDIES, ignorant of culture, subsisting only on fruits, covered with skins of beasts, and killing the old men and the infirm who could no longer follow in their excursions the rest of the family §: in MEXICO, you will recognize the Cimbri and the Scythians, burying alive with the dead king, the great officers of the crown ||: in PERU as well as in MEXICO, and even among the small nations, you will find Druids, Vates, Eubages, mountebanks, cheating priests, and credulous men ¶: on every part of the continent and in the neighbouring islands, you will see the Bretons or Britons, the Picts of the Romans; and the Thracians, men

* *Diodor.* Book I. Parag. 1. Art. 3.

† *Pausanias.* Book VIII. Chap. I.

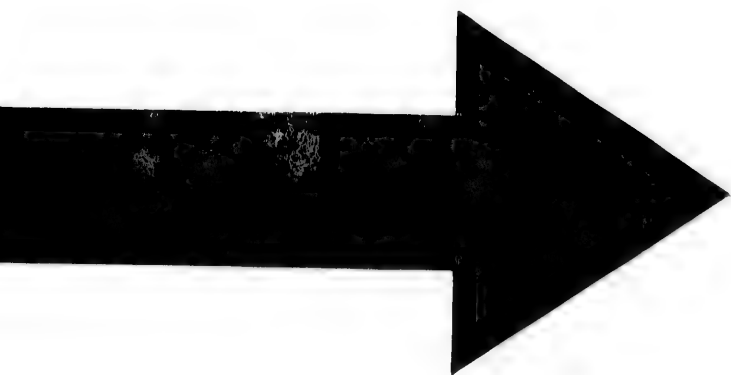
‡ *Herodot.* Book IV.

§ *Ibid.* Book III. and IV.—*Val. Max.* Book II.

|| *Ibid.* and *Strabo.*

¶ In the ancient history of Gaul, in that of the British islands, and in all the histories of the ancient times of Europe, of the North, of Asia, &c.





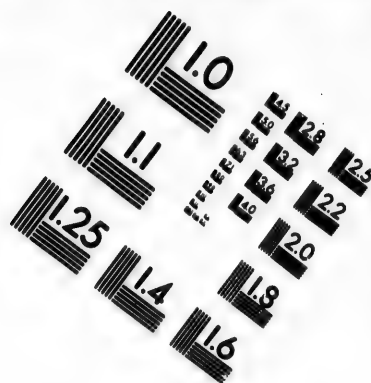
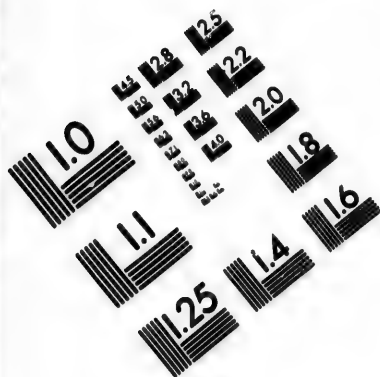
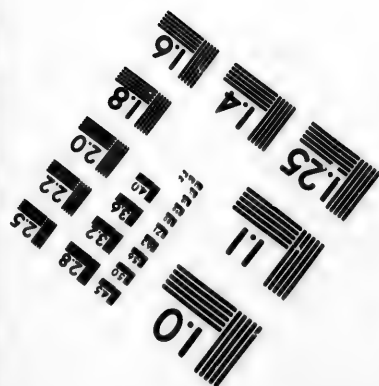
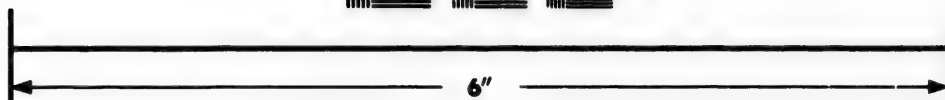
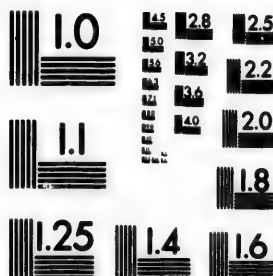


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic Sciences Corporation

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WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503**

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and women, painting their body and face, puncturing and making incisions in their skin; and the latter condemning their women to till the ground, to carry heavy burdens, and imposing on them the most laborious employments*: in the forests of CANADA, in the BRAZILS, and elsewhere, you will find Cantabri causing their enemies whom they have made prisoners of war to undergo torture, and singing the song of the dead round the stake where the victim is expiring in the most frightful torments†: in short, every where, AMERICA will present to you the horrible spectacle of those human sacrifices, with which the people of both Worlds have polluted the whole surface of the globe; and several nations of the New World, like some of those of the Old ‡, will make you shrink with horror at the sight of those execrable festivals where man feeds with delight on the flesh of his fellow-creature.

The picture which the New World exhibited to the men of the Old who discovered it, therefore offered no feature of which our own history does not furnish us with a model in the infancy of our political societies. AMERICA too must have had her infancy: but as the progress of Nature is uniform in the formation and advancement of the

* *Herodot.* Book II.

† *Strabo*, Book II.

‡ The Irish and the Massagetzæ, according to *Strabo*, Book II.—The Scythians, according to *Eusebius*, *Preparat. Evan.* Book II, Chap. iv. and other people of the Old Continent.

same species, we must imagine that AMERICA, left to herself, would have had her different ages and her distinct periods. Already even some portions of this vast country were beginning to emerge from the barbarism which characterizes the infancy of nations; already in PERU, MANCO CAPAC, in MEXICO, the predecessors of the unfortunate MONTIZUMA, had succeeded in assembling a great number of wandering hordes, in fixing them in towns, in giving them a worship, in making them acknowledge and love the empire of the laws. Shortly would have been seen the proud Chichimeques, the terrible Otomies, retired for a long time past into the caverns of the mountains which MEXICO has for limits, where the produce of the chase and a few wild roots, stolen from the clefts of the rocks, support their existence, ferocious men whom European arms could not subdue, because the conquerors to whom their use is reserved cannot penetrate into their haunts; they would have been seen to come down from their mountains inaccessible to all others; and, attracted by the allurements of the conveniences and comforts of life enjoyed by the men of the plain, gradually to divest themselves of their ferocity, and, invincible by force, but conquered by example, at length adopt the manners and customs of the great people among whom they would have been incorporated and confounded. The empire of PERU, founded like that of MEXICO, for two

centuries past, reckoned down to the period of the discovery, and constituted on principles little different, by following the natural declivity and the course of the rivers, would have pushed forth branches towards the east: and, step by step, civilization would have reached those ferocious Brazilians, those cannibals so dreaded by Europeans, those men jealous of their independence, the greater part of whom have found means to withdraw themselves, and no doubt for ever, from the iron yoke which strangers in taking possession of their country, had dared to present to them. Thus, a third empire would have risen between the two great rivers of MARAÑON and LA PLATA; and, at the same time that the empire of PERU, by extending itself to the north-east as far as the Sea of the ANTILLES, would have had a communication with those fertile islands which some great convulsion of the globe appears to have detached from the continent, that of MEXICO would have poured the surplus of its population into the countries situated to the north and east of its territory, and, by ascending the MISSISSIPPI, might have been prolonged and extended to the great lakes and the river of CANADA. It may be presumed, by analogy with what has happened in the Old World, that the small number of inhabitants of the boreal and austral regions would have successively flowed back to the temperate zones, and towards the borders of the torrid zone; and that, if those who are disseminated

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disseminated over the main land of NORTH AMERICA, and to the extremities of the MAGELLANIC LAND, had not abandoned their native country, in order to proceed towards the frontiers of MEXICO, on the one hand; and, on the other, towards those of BRAZIL and PERU, they would have continued to vegetate on the soil that fed them, like those little nations which, on the Old Continent, occupy the parts of ASIA and EUROPE situated in the vicinity of the polar circle, the Tschutschis, the Samoyedes and the Laplanders.

But the arrival of the Europeans has arrested Nature in her career, and condemned AMERICA to grow old in a long infancy. Reason and humanity are both shocked, and in an equal degree, when we recollect that, by our conduct, a great number of nations of that unhappy continent have disappeared from the face of the earth which they were to share with us; and that the conquerors who ravaged the New World, have not made one effort to heal, if possible, the great wound which they gave to the human race; to introduce among the people who have survived the destruction of the rest, a social government that, by recalling them to the dignity of man, might restore them to the love of life, and to the wish of preserving and multiplying their species. Every one is astonished that the idea of death inspires the ancient Peruvian with no idea of fear! He is a slave, and to die, to a slave, is but to rid himself

of the insupportable burden of his miserable existence.

[But by what has the European, in destroying the men of the New World, thought to be able to fill up this immense void? In general, by some of the refuse of the societies of EUROPE, skilful in destroying, impotent in creating, adventurers whom, for the most part, their country had vomited forth from her bosom, like filth which may taint the air by its fermentation, and which carries with it the germs of contagion. If you combine with these impure elements a few thousands of black men purchased on the sands of AFRICA, who, bringing into a strange country the horror of labour which is natural to them, there adopt all the vices that slavery engenders, and endeavour not to reproduce themselves, you will have the sort of population that has supplied the place of a small part of the primitive population which the scythe of the Europeans has mown down in the two AMERICAS. It is not with new principles of destruction that this half of the earth can ever repair its losses, or be regenerated: and the masters of the New World are too strong against the weak American for him ever to be able, by himself, to break the yoke that oppresses him, ever to clear the wall of brass which, as it cannot be thrown down by impotent and, ere long, fatal efforts, will constantly and invincibly oppose the progress of civilization.

If

If ever a revolution be effected in favour of AMERICA, it will only be by Europeans become Americans; they alone will be able to restore her the influence which, by the extent of her territory, by her navigable rivers, the largest on earth, by the variety of her indigenous productions, by her precious metals, her diamonds, her pearls, fatal presents of Nature which occasioned all her misfortunes, she ought to have in the political as well as she has in the physical scale of the globe. Who can foresee and calculate what will in ages to come be the destiny of this vast and rich continent in the hands of the men of EUROPE, enterprising and insatiable after gold and glory, who, there naturalizing themselves, will naturalize with them their arts and their industry!

But, till AMERICA has assumed the rank which Nature had marked out for her, till one day perhaps the New World, after having been long oppressed by the Old, happens, in its turn, to oppress it, the NORTH-WEST coast which has hitherto escaped the storms that have overthrown the interior of the continent and the east side of its northern coasts, opens us a channel to do a little good, in order to compensate in part, if possible, all the ill which we have effected. Unknown, for three centuries, by the side of a land which saw its children destroyed by the sword of strangers come from the east, or reduced to slavery and

sinking in the mines under the weight of labour, this privileged coast owed its independence to its obscurity. Its situation at the western limit of NORTH AMERICA, the rudeness of its climate, the happy privation of the metals after which the European thirsts, the character of its inhabitants, mistrustful and brave, the nature of its productions, which are only the produce of hunting and fishing—every thing seems at this day likely to insure to it the maintenance of its liberty, and to defend it against the ambition of the conquerors. But, without making an attempt on a blessing of which it ought to be jealous, might we not present ourselves to the tribes that inhabit it, with the caduceus and the olive branch in our hand; introduce among them the taste and practice of the useful arts; teach them the use of our implements of husbandry; naturalize on a soil which requires only culture to render its fecundity beneficial, the productions which enrich other parts of the earth situated in the same latitudes; establish in these regions open to civilization, in lieu of the misery and vices which counteract the progress of half-civilized nations, the true principles of social order, and a rational system of morality and religion; acquit, in short, towards humanity the debt of the nations who have got the start of others in civilization, and add, as it were, a new people to the human race? Why should not EUROPE do for a portion of

AMERICA

AMERICA what EGYPT did for GREECE*?— Would distance and danger, which never appeared obstacles when remote lands offered gold to cupidity, present insurmountable ones, when the question is to serve humanity, at this day especially, when the nautical art, improved, has approximated, and, in a manner, identified all the parts of the globe? Let morality, once put in practice, then approximate men too, all the children of the same mother: and, if to projects of beneficence we can associate the calculations of interest, let us think that the increase of our trade and of our navigation will indemnify our advances, and repay our sacrifices.

But if this wish cannot be accomplished, if philanthropy be but an empty word, there is no hope

* “If we may rely on ancient tradition, the first inhabitants of Greece had no other dwellings than deep caverns, and issued from them only to dispute with animals coarse and sometimes noxious food.

“The first legislators of the still savage Greeks were Egyptians, who had just landed on the coast of *Argolides*. “There they sought an asylum; there they founded an empire; and it was, no doubt, a fine sight to behold a restless and cruel people, approach trembling the foreign colony, admire its peaceful labours, cut down their forests as old as the world, discover under their feet an unknown land, and render it fertile, spread themselves with their flocks and herds in the plains, and at length contrive to spend in innocence pure and serene days.” (*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. Introduction, pages 1 and 2, vol. i. of the 4to Edition. — *Translated*.)

that

that the inhabitants of those lands which extend over a border of about six hundred leagues, and the scattered population of which cannot be estimated at more than fifteen or twenty thousand individuals, can ever see assembled their too widely dispersed hordes, which the difficulty of subsisting keeps at a distance from each other, and among which the want of provisions, and perhaps causes of rivalry that are unknown to us, still kindle the flame of discord and foment external and intestine wars. But at least, if we are not willing to do these people all the good that would be in our power, let us spare them the ill for which we have so many means; let us not endeavour to disturb the peace of their retreats: and if commercial communications be maintained with them, let us set them the example of honesty; let us make it our study to render profitable to them a traffic which, by a conduct well calculated on our part, and especially with moderation and prudence, may procure us great advantages.

It is time to lose sight of the NORTH-WEST coast of AMERICA on which, perhaps, I have dwelt too long: let us quit it to rejoin Captain MARCHAND; and, in following his route across the GREAT OCEAN, let us hasten with him to land on the Old Continent. When we have painfully travelled in thought over the immense solitude of this long coast, one of the limits of the New World, and when, in collecting the scattered objects which it
offers

offers to meditation, we have seen that tribes, herds of men, scattered here and there, dispute their territory with the animals of the forests; when each of their wants can be satisfied only by a victory over those formidable rivals, or by a conquest over the sea; when, if their eyes be raised towards heaven, heaps of frost-bearing clouds present themselves to their sight; when under their feet is a land of ice; when around them rise inaccessible mountains whose summits, confounded with the clouds, are enveloped in perpetual snow; when, in short, existence to them is supportable only because they are happily ignorant of those benefits with which Nature, a step-mother in regard to them, has loaded a part of the human species, we are eager to carry back our imagination towards those fortunate regions where, under a beautiful sky, numerous flocks and herds afford to man a fleece incessantly reviving, which he is not obliged to conquer, and docile animals which he associates to his labours; where vast plains display afar those ears bent under their own weight, whose nourishing grain insures the subsistence of the year; where rich hillocks expose to the sun, which ripens them, those clusters of grapes whose fermented juice reanimates the enfeebled senses and revives the exhausted strength; where, in short, the labour of a few suffices for the nourishment of all. Happy the men whom the eternal dispenser of good and

ill

It has placed on these blessed lands * ! Thrice happy, if, appreciating the blessings which it has pleased his bounty to assign to their share, grateful and moderate, they knew how to be contented and enjoy ! And if, agitated by insatiable avidity, blinded by ambition still more insatiable, animated by vengeance, excited by hatred, and calling in against themselves discord, war, and death, they did not convert into fields of carnage and desolation, those lands which were abandoned to the labour of their arms for the purpose of maintaining their fleeting existence ! Why must the sage, condemned to be the witness of their homicidal rage, if he be not its victim, have in the course of ages, had so often to regret that his destiny had not rather thrown him into the midst of some one of those tribes which, having to defend themselves only against bears, find in these formidable neighbours, enemies less dangerous, less ferocious than men !

* "*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint*

" *quibus ipsa*

" *Fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus !*

VIRG. Georg. lib. ii.

" Thrice happy swains, whose genuine pleasures bless,

" If they but knew and felt their happiness.

" Earth with salubrious fruits supports their life."

WARTON.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

St. 1791.

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